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A COTTESWOLD SHRINE

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A
COTTESWOLD SHRINE

BEING A CONTRIBUTION
TO THE

History of Hailes

COUNTY GLOUCESTER

MANOR, PARISH AND ABBEY

BY

WELBORE ST. CLAIR BADDELEY

"I DO LOVE THESE ANCIENT RUINS.
WE NEVER TREAD UPON THEM BUT WE SET
OUR FOOT UPON SOME REVEREND HISTORY;
AND, QUESTIONLESS, HERE, IN THIS OPEN COURT,
WHICH NOW LIES NAKED TO THE INJURIES
OF STORMY WEATHER, SOME LIE INTERRED WHO
LOVED THE CHURCH SO WELL, AND GAVE SO LARGELY TO IT,
THEY THOUGHT IT SHOULD HAVE CANOPIED THEIR BONES
TILL DOOMSDAY; BUT ALL THINGS HAVE THEIR END."

John Webster

BERNARDUS VALLES, MONTES BENEDICTUS AMABAT.

DOVE ABITANO I FRATE È GRASSA LA TERRA.

Proverb.

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1908

DEDICATED
TO
THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY

[350 COPIES ONLY]

ERRATA

Line 17, p. 46: For 'those,' read 'that.'

Line 20, p. 63: For 'their sister's husband,' read 'Guy's father-in-law.'

Omitted in Index: 'Lead-Tracerics, pp. 51-2.'

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PREFACE

COULD Stephen Sagar, last Abbot of Hailes, revisit the beautiful scene once so familiar to him and to his brother, who now lie side by side in a far-off Yorkshire village churchyard, the sight of his Abbey would scarcely make him desirous to linger there. For, with the exception of some broken portions of the south wall of the Church and merely a shell of the Cloister, together with some of its doors, the House he ruled has vanished. The Shrine with its renowned Relic went already during his own lifetime, as also did the five bells and the lead from the long roofs. But now even the *chevet* of pentagonal chapels, which formed a graceful crown above and around the 'Shrine of the Holy Blood,' can only be traced below the soil. It is level almost with the coffinless skeletons of Princes, Abbots, and noble Knights, whose tombs have been violated and ransacked at the Dissolution. But there, at least, the spade has discovered the complete foundations (as the plan subjoined shews,) and almost as clearly the mental eye can re-construct it, together with its elaborate groups of buttresses formed of the golden oolite from the neighbouring hills. This it is that the aforesaid Abbot would need to do. The Infirmary, Guest-house, the far-extending Precinct-wall, and both Gate-houses, have likewise disappeared, together with, not merely the Dorter, Chapter-House, Warming-Parlour, and Frater, but that also which the Augmentation Commissioners spared—even the Abbot's own Dwelling-House located in what had once been the Cellarer's Building. He would find nothing above the green pasture of the rich and ancient meadow-land, appropriately called Hailes, Hayles, or better Hales (Cf. Hales-Owen and Sheriff-Hales: A. S. Healh, = meadow-land,) but the imperfect walls of the Cloister, containing the original entrances to various important domestic buildings, and through all which he (and greater men than he) must very often have passed. He would, moreover, learn that the country-maids fear to pass through the field after sundown, for dread of

ghosts ; that many believe a golden coffin lies buried somewhere in it—doubtless a reminiscence of the once-splendid sepulchre of Richard Plantagenet, King of the Romans ; and finally, that there is a great subterranean passage leading to Coscombe, at the end of which sits a virgin mourning.

Like so many Abbeys, Hailes has been used, time out of mind, as a convenient stone-quarry ; and the antiquary, and the wild birds that yearly nest in the remains, may be duly thankful that it has not been absolutely deleted. That it has not been, will be the part-purpose of the following pages to shew. In this respect, at least, it has certainly fared far better than its more ancient neighbours at Winchcombe or Evesham, though less well than either Tewkesbury or Gloucester.

In order, to put the Abbey-History into form rather more fully than hitherto has been possible to do, it has seemed necessary to bear in mind the historical and topographical setting belonging both to the site and to the Abbey on it ; namely, that of the Manor in which the latter came to be placed, and to which it has added a most singular, if much-neglected, interest. For, although the County of Gloucester contained two other Cistercian Foundations, *i.e.*, at Flaxley and at Kingswood, and though the Cistercian order possessed many splendid houses up and down the land, there was only one Cistercian Shrine in all England ; and that was, even here at Hailes, built by a Plantagenet Prince in mid-thirteenth century.

It may, perhaps, be thought that the story should have been kept within narrower limits, that is, strictly to the Manor, Parish, and Abbey thus intimately wedded ; that the limner might have employed a smaller canvas, and this more especially so, because the story of Winchcombe (placed but two and a half miles away), has a long while since found a loving pen. This, nevertheless, proved impracticable, for the reason that both Sudeley Castle and Winchcombe Abbey (as nearest neighbours often are found to do), considerably influenced the course of the destinies of Hailes and of some of its owners, both as a Manor and as an Abbey.

In a more subsidiary manner it became needful to take into account the intimate connections of Hailes with Didbrook, Stanway, and Toddington, not to speak of Snowhill, Stanton, Rowell, and Farmcote ; which all stood as in ministering relationship of satellites to the two monastic worlds which for a time controlled their destinies. Excuse, if necessary, will be found for this if in

the process of so-doing it may prove to have been possible to record certain peculiar local interests of those places, which (as far as the writer is aware), have escaped the recording pens of more worthy predecessors, the County Historians.

Thanks are due to the late Mrs Dent (of Sudeley), and to Mrs Wedgwood (of Stanton Court), to Miss Eliza Wedgwood, to the Misses Edwards (of Hailes), and to Miss Trice Martin. In addition to these, to Lord Biddulph of Ledbury, to Viscount St. Aldwyn, to Earl Fortescue, to Lord Sherborne, to the Ven. the Dean and Chapter of Wells, to the Rev. Wm. Darke Stanton, M.A., J.P. (Vicar of Toddington and Hailes), to the late and much-regretted Henry Prothero, to J. Gurney, Esq (of Keswick) for the loan of valuable MS., to H. Dent-Brocklehurst, Esq., to J. Horace Round, Esq., to Francis A. Hyett, Esq., of Painswick, to the Rev. Morris Burland, M.A. (Vicar of Stanton), W. Bliss, Esq., of Rome, Rev. Canon H. Floyer, M.A., Rev. A. T. Bannister, M.A. (Vicar of Ewyas Harold), to the Rev. Charles S. Taylor, M.A. (Vicar of Banwell), to G. McNeil Rushforth, Esq., M.A., to Harold Brakspear, Esq., F.S.A., especially to the Rev. Canon William Bazeley, Vicar of Matson, chiefly owing to whose initiative, and by courteous permission given to us by the temporary owners of the site (namely, the Directors of the Economic Assurance Company, and of the Toddington Orchard Company), the first excavations (1899-1900) were enabled to be made. Finally, they are due to Mr and Mrs Hugh Andrews, the present owners of Toddington and Hailes, for their unremitting kindness to the author while making researches into the history of the neighbourhood ; and, with them, to Mr H. Hamilton, Agent for these Estates, and especially to Mr Ellis Marsland of Court House, Painswick, to Mr Sydney Young, F.S.A., and to Mr Max Clarke, F.R.I.B.A., for ready and valuable help.

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Tinted Plan of the Abbey at the end

CHAPTER I.

THE LOCALITY IN ROMAN AND PRE-ROMAN TIMES.

BATTLES have ceased among these green, beautiful hills. The clash of bronze and iron is heard here no more. The shaggy boars, that once haunted them, have vanished from their dark woods. But the clouds, tinged with western light, look down, as they silently pass, upon the very same prehistoric camps, upon the same high and lonely burial-mounds—where unknown warriors sleep and dry leaves still whirl around them—that crown bold crest and rugged escarpment; there, at Cleeve, across the vale yonder, lifted above Winchcombe; there, again, on the isolated pine-crowned hill in Toddington deer-park; at superb Bredon, further off; or finally, here, at woodland Beckbury. Below the last the ancient manor of Hailes* is spread even as a green carpet, and patterned out into irregular pasture-fields.

It is evident, even to an unscientific eye, that the whole of this portion of the Cotteswold district has been thrown by natural forces into broad generous folds, dependents upon one main ridge of continuity—the subordinate depressions of which have resulted in these fascinating combes and denes—each sending down its own rill or streamlet to build up the rich pastures below, already deep with age-long spoils of the wood and upland—while, here and there, the more open landscape is enriched with some picturesque ‘out-lier,’ some green offslip of the parental oolite range. Of these, Bredon, to the north, is by far the most important.

Compared then to the age of those escarpments, it was but as yesterday that wolves were listening at such an hour as this to the lowing of the cattle being driven up into the embanked enclosure-camps after watering, or were perhaps sniffing out the track of some strayed or wounded animal, growing keener and brighter-eyed as the daylight faded. This, at least, may still have been occurring even in later than Saxon times.†

* A. S. *Healh*: Hales = meadow-lands.

† 1280. The King licenses John Giffard of Brimsfield to hunt wolves with dogs and nets in all the King’s forests, wherever he can find them. 1281. Peter Corbet is enjoined to hunt wolves and in all ways destroy them in the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, &c. ‘*Rymer. Fœd.*, 1, pp. 587–591.

It is of interest, to speculate for a moment, as to what traces, if any, have been left of some of the pre-Roman occupiers of this district, in the remnants of language, etc.; and as we do so it becomes manifest that in the place-names nothing distinctively Saxon or Danish will be of the least help to us: all the 'hams' and 'tons' and 'leys' must go for nothing. But, although we may not need to travel very far for such literary evidences, they are not especially abundant.

In Winchcombe,* yonder, and Coscombe,† at hand, the British 'cwm' (Saxonized into 'combe'), freely declares itself. Frampton (as so frequently elsewhere in the county), denotes the presence of a small stream, perhaps akin to Ffromis—to fume, or ffreuo, to gush; while Didbrook (as in Dud-bridge) suggests Welsh Dyddyfru—to water, or irrigate. Greet, by itself, and in Gretton, hard-by, are probably the same with the celtic Greta, also a river-name. The Beck in Beckbury Camp, where there is no brook at all may be related to A.S. Beorg: mound. It is to be recalled that the speech of the Brythonic conquerors was that prevailing in these portions of Britain during the Roman occupation, although the older Goidhelic probably was by no means extinct, but merely receding. But it is not correct to deduce Breithan from Bredon; although the 'Bre' is a truly Celtic prefix, meaning a Hill; so that the A. S. Breodune signifies 'Hill-down.'‡ In Dumbleton (D.S. Dunbentane) we seem to have the Goidhelic 'Dun' or 'Dum' a fortress, though it may likewise be merely A.S. Dun: down. Belas, in Belas-knap (and Belknap), reminds us of Belinos, the God, as well as of (W.) Bel = war, and Bela = the wolf, but it may represent only an A.S. personal name.

When we turn, however, to direct traces of Anglo-Saxon occupation, the district at once displays interesting survivals; and, first of all, attention is arrested by the Farm called Milham-post, beside the main road between Winchcombe and Didbrook. This name in the thirteenth century was 'middle-homme,' and it happens to coincide with the site of a Roman Villa in the field adjoining to the present farmhouse. But what should be the significance of the

* A. S. Wincel = a corner. (C.) Cwm: Combe.

† Earlier forms of this give 'Gos' (A. S.) Goose. See appended List of Place and Field names, at the close of this volume.

‡ Bredon Hill, besides its famous promontory-fort, possesses another, of the first order among pre-historic fortresses, namely, that which became the site of the Norman Castle of De Beauchamp, above Elmley.

term 'middle' applied to the Ham, or home?—There are no other 'hams' at present to be found in the maps anywhere immediately around. If we turn to the Landboc of Winchcombe (Vol. I., p. 282), in a document dated to A.D. 1256, and bearing upon the delimitation of certain Common-land which lay between the possessions of the Abbey of Hailes and those of Bartholomew, Lord of Sudeley, we shall find that 'Middle-homme' must at that period have been the centre of a group not of village Hams, but 'hommes,' or meadows in the bends of the Essburne, and most of them 'within the Common.' The delimited boundaries are therein sworn to run thus:—"From Sudeley*-Court Gate to Bradeley (Broad-lea) which is *in* common, to Hill-croft, *out* of common; Hill-croft to Godalecroft, *out* of common; Godalecroft (p.n.) to Walkingcroft, *out* of common to Gosehomme (*i.e.* Goosehomme) under the garden of William of the Forde (beside Winchcombe), which is *within* the common; from Gosehomme, as far as the field which belonged to Godfrey Cook, even to Alwyneshomme (p.n.), which is *within*; and from Alwyneshomme (p.n.) to Sparrowhomme, *within* the common, and from that to the fields of William of the Ford and Middlehomme, of the same, which are *within* the common; and from that to the Homme which stretches even to Sheep-pen-bridge, which is *within*; and thence to a meadow called Knightsmead, which will be in the holding of the Abbot and Convent of Hailes, from the feast of the Purification even to that of the Nativity of the Virgin; and thence to Smiths-homme, which is *within*, to Woodroffeshomme both *within* the common; and if the aforesaid fields be not mown before the latter feast, none the less their cattle shall enter and pasture on the common; and from Woodroffeshomme (p.n.) to Hayle-brook, and thence to the village of Hayles." Here, then, we have a cluster of no less than seven hams, bearing the secondary signification of pasture-meads. Saxon Family settlements on the other hand are well represented by the remarkable group of 'tons' hard-by, to the north and west, *i.e.*, Toddington (D.S. Todintun), Fiddington (D.S. Fidentone), Natton (D.S. Natone), Wormington (D.S. Wermeton), Stanton, Gotherington (D.S. Godrinton), Dixton,† Oxenton,‡ and Gretton.§ None of these 'tons' can have dated from the earliest days of the Mercian

* South-ley.

† Dicklesdon. 14 C. (p.n.)

‡ Oxendone. D.S. A.S. Oxa : en.

§ Gretton = Greta (C.) a river-name.

Kingdom, from a time, that is to say, when the adjacent ruins of the Roman Villas of Spoonley*, Wadfield† and Milham, must have still remained to bear witness of earlier local attractions to settlers. We should have expected rather to find at least a few 'Hams' bearing the primary significance of a 'Home' settlement; but on the contrary, such are extremely rare, hereabouts, Nottingham Hill and Brockhampton‡ being the two nearest.

This bids us remind ourselves that for a brief period of years before the reign of Cnut, Wincel-cumbe, in itself, and its Quarter (or Ferding), constituted a 'vice-comitatus,' or Saxon shire, called Wincelcumbe-shire, of which the town or borough was the head, or seat of the Sheriff, within the Earldom. In Rev. Mr C. Taylor's opinion—"Mercia was (probably) divided into shires soon after Eddric was appointed ealdorman, in A.D. 1007; though, no doubt, there had existed recognised military districts at a much earlier period. It is not unlikely that the military districts formed the basis of the division into shires." At the date of the Norman Survey, Winchcombe was but one of the four boroughs of the new county of Gloucestershire.

So far as any monastic or ecclesiastical dates or charters can be relied upon, both Cheltenham and Beckford possessed small monasteries more than a generation before the foundation of that of S. Mary at Winchcombe,(?) A.D. 811, which latter became Benedictine only in A.D. 969. But, whereas these and many more conventual houses were swallowed up by Worcester and Gloucester, that of Winchcombe waxed individually more and more powerful, until in the time of Edward the Confessor, its lands in Gloucestershire were reckoned at no less than sixty hides.§ Now, as at this same date, the Abbey of neighbouring Evesham held likewise fifty-six hides in the 'Quarter' of Winchcombe, it is easily to be understood how monk-ridden all this beautiful portion of the county had become. Yet we shall see that room was still to be found for another Abbey and its possessions, and that the fields and roads which for centuries had been familiar with the presence of dark Benedictines, were to become accustomed to the white Cistercians of St. Bernard; so that a peasant at his work could from afar

* Cf. Sponbed (in Painswick): Sponstrete (Coventry)

† Perhaps Hwat-feld = wheatfield, but better, woad-field.

‡ Cf. 'Cotswold in Saxon Times' by Rev. Ch. Taylor, M.A., Vol. XX., p. 299. Trans: Brist. & Glos. Arch. Soc.

§ This was swelled in A.D. 1087 to no less than 109 hides, valued at £82.

FIG. 1.



LEGIO. XXII. PRIMIGENIA. PLA. FIDELIS.



E. W. Reed

XV. CENT. TILE.

notice a white spot against the hill-side, and instantly know that it signified a monk belonging to Hailes, not to Winchcombe, albeit both Monasteries were dedicated to the Virgin.

Little trace of the Dane is to be found in the environs of Winchcombe, saving perhaps in the 'knap' of Belas-Knap and Catesthorpe (p.n.), near Gretton (Greta-tun) mentioned in a list of Lord Boteler's (of Sudeley) possessions in 1469. (See Dent's *Annals of Sudeley*, p. 124.) The period at which the Danes most influenced the district would seem to have been in A.D. 874, when they drove Burhred* from his Mercian kingdom, and set Ceolwulf,† one of his thanes, upon his throne as 'under-king,' (sub-regulus), 'the last of the Mercian monarchs.' Probably the years 877-8 witnessed devastations by them on a large scale; for King Alfred immediately afterwards set himself to the task of re-organising Mercia. But Gloucester itself, not Winchcombe hidden behind the hills, was the focus of Danish depredations. Writers have described the sacking and ruin of Winchcombe Abbey‡ at Danish hands, but in the total absence of direct or documentary evidence, the meagre circumstantial witness of their presence in the nomenclature of one or two spots well beyond the town, is scarcely sufficient of itself to warrant the acceptance of the story. Throughout the tenth century Gloucester was re-arising into importance as the seat of local Government, at the expense of Winchcombe. In 942, King Edmund held the Witena-gemot at the latter town, consisting of Archbishop Wulstan, and four Bishops, and six ealdormen (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 505). Later on Winchcombe naturally formed part of Godwine's vast earldom of Wessex. At his death, his son Harold held it as his share, receiving 40s. annually, or the third penny out of the six pounds of rent paid to the King by the Borough. In Henry the First's reign the Borough of Winchcombe§ paid its Burghal Aid to the King.

* 852-874. He married Ethelswith, daughter of his over-lord, Ethelwulf, and died in Rome.

† 874.

‡ Said to have been founded A.D. (Nov. 11th) 811. It became Benedictine in A.D. 969 under St. Oswald.

§ "About the year A.D. 1100, the King had 60 (Burgages); the Abbot of Winchcombe, 40; the Abbot of Evesham, 2; the Bishop of Hereford, 2; Robert of Bellême, 3; Robert Fitz-Hamon, 5; and divers other persons of note had some 29 Houses among them" (in Winchcombe.) "However poor, however small Winchcombe may have been, it radically differed from the common manor and the common village." F. W. Maitland, 'Domesday and Beyond,' pp. 180-181.

If, however, we turn back to evidences of the Roman occupation we are rewarded in being able to point to three distinct villas, namely, at Spoonley, Wadfield, and Milhampost, and two camps. The former were on well-to-do estates belonging to unidentified Romanised Gauls or Britons (or Dobuni), in the II.—VI. centuries, doubtless cultivated in their day by the system since known as that of demesne-farm and serf, and probably yielding some portion of that rich supply of wheat which Britain during her happy fourth century (according to Ammianus) was enabled to export even to the Roman Rhine. At Wadfield, the estate will have been partly formed of sheep-runs, likewise with that of Spoonley, whereas that at Milham (or Middleham), must have been the centre of the well-irrigated rich cornlands. The number of coins dating from the second century found on the latter site may allow us to assign it priority of date to that of its fellows, where these are absent, and the coins of Tetricus and Constantine abound. Milham also possesses a Romano-British graveyard, from which the writer, during many years past, has obtained much, both some British hand-made and much Romano-British wheel-made, pottery. This is situated within fifty yards (S.) of the present Farm-house. It is possible that the fulling of cloth may (as at Chedworth), have constituted an important source of revenue to one or more of these villas. The propinquity of a Stoneway (*i.e.*, Stanway), sufficiently indicates the trade-routes by which their produce could reach both the greater roads such as Fosseway, and Rychneild Street, or the rivers Avon and Severn, or, at Lechlade, the Thames. The Salt-way,* running from Droitwich through Toddington past Hailes, and making for Lechlade, belongs to post-Roman days. Their owners, therefore, may be taken to have been important employers of labour, and their estates hereabouts may have constituted a prosperous centre of civil law and husbandry. The possessors probably enjoyed the status of municipal Decuriones, or magistrates.†

The presence of two small, but distinctly Roman camps among the many along the escarpments would seem to assure us that these villas arose in a period of confirmed peace; and that the military defences of this rich corn-growing vale needed to be nearer to it than the stations on the great roads; such as

* The salt was sent in horse-loads (after the brine had been boiled), 'summæ' (loads) and 'meltæ' (mits). The earliest evidence of the use of these salt-works occurs in the eighth century.

† There is probably a fourth villa to be found, in Stancombe Wood.

Bourton, Worcester, and Glevum (Gloucester), and Corinium (Cirencester). The occurrence of Roman coins, and even of weapons, on certain of the neighbouring pre-Roman camps, may merely indicate some temporary precautions, or particular manœuvres, in which such camps may often have been utilised, especially during outbreaks of civil strife. But above Kemerton and Westmancote on Bredon, there has certainly been a large and well-guarded Roman Settlement. Only two objects in the way of inscriptions have been found;* but these are very remarkable, being terra-cotta flue-tiles bearing the stamp of the XXIIInd. Legion. They are now in the collection at Sudeley, and certainly must be held to point to the presence of a section of that Legion in Britain after the first century. (Cf fig. 1).

The first and nearest to Hailes of these camps is situated at Cromwell's Clump (or Tump), having its western flank formed by the escarpment above Hailes-wood toward Farmcote. In form it is oblong irregular rectangular, having slightly rounded angles. A single vallum still at one point (S.W.) fifteen feet in height, defended it on the remaining sides and a copious spring rises just beyond the S.W. angle. The western flank drops deeply. The area contained measures 495 ft. \times 600 ft. Many coins of Severus and Aurelius and some stone arrow-heads have been found here.

The other Roman camp is at Shenberrow, just above Stanton, likewise placed on the escarpment, at a well-chosen site. It is yet smaller, covering an area of 310 ft. \times 420 ft. The irregularity here occurs at the same S.E. side of the camp. There is a good spring to South. The makers, as at the still smaller Roman (mis-called Danish) camp at Conderton on Bredon Hill, have taken full advantage of a great natural fosse, the western wall falling 55 ft. into it. There may have been an earlier camp here. Both camps guarded the hills and their ridge-road as against foes from the vale. From these long wildering crests and ridges little could really be detected of the movements of an enemy in days when the plains below were thickly-wooded and the hill-tops bared. Security lay in the hills; danger was in the valleys. The approach of the enemy could only be told by the spy or the burning homestead.

* Near Didbrook, and probably Milhampost. Mrs Dent stated that these tiles did not come from a villa on her estate, but from just beyond it. Hadrian gave the name of Primigenia to this Legion, and its station was on the Rhine. The dimensions of the hollow tile are $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. Its length is $13\frac{1}{2}$ in.

CHAPTER II.

NORMAN TIMES.

AT Toddington, the Domesday (1086) owner was Harald Fitz-Ralph, otherwise Harald of Ewias, son of Ralph, Earl of Herefordshire, with Goda, 'the Countess.' Sudeley, likewise, belonged to him, and he died in the reign of Henry I. : when both of these possessions passed to his younger son, John FitzHarald, together with other lands, in Warwickshire.

At that period Winchcombe Abbey held most of its many manors at some distance, as at Frampton, Halling, Naunton, Aldrinton, Stanton, Twining, Charlton Abbots, Snows-Hill, and, largest of all, at Sherborne.

Hailes, or Heiles,* however (as it was then called), which had been held in King Edward's day by Osgot (and was reckoned at 11 hides, with an acreage of 2040, and a mill, having, moreover, 32 male inhabitants, including 12 servi or serfs ; was now held by William Leuric (alias Leofric), perhaps of Norman descent by his mother. He had for neighbours, William Goizenboded, at Farmcote, and at Lower Guiting ; and Roger de Laci, who was lord at Upper Guiting. Both de Laci and Harald FitzRalph owned respectively 4, and 7, salt-pits at Wich (or Droitwich), to which the Salt-way running by Hailes led.

Leofric, or Leuric, is mentioned as having emancipated the twelve serfs he had found there (an unusual number for the size of this manor), and these consequently became villani, or villeins.

After his death, or forfeiture (c. 1114), Hailes passed by grant from the Crown into the holding of Ralph de Tancarville, the Chamberlain (Camerarius), otherwise Ralph FitzGerold, hereditary Chamberlain of Normandy, the head of a rapacious family, of whom Urso d'Abitot, or De Wirecestre (Worcester), Sheriff of Worcester (living in 1100 A.D.), was a prominent member, and was his nephew.

At some period between A.D. 1138 and 1150 (not, as we should have expected, William de Tancarville, son of Ralph, but) one Ralph

* Plural of A. S. *Healh* = meadow. (Cf. Notes on Staff. Place-names, by W. H. Duignan. 1902).

de Wirecester, is related by a monkish writer of a later generation, to have fortified a small castle already existing at Hailes, and to have built there the church adjoining it, which Simon, Bishop of Worcester, was called upon by him to dedicate. To this, Robert, Abbot of Winchcombe, and his convent (it is related) vehemently objected, for the reason that over the Manor of Hailes they possessed certain parish rights, notably that of sepulture. In consequence of their opposition, Ralph de Wirecester impounded their cattle and probably stopped their mills ; with result that they were starved (and threatened with worse than starvation) into submitting to him, and the church was duly dedicated. An agreement was at last arrived at, for peace sake, that Hailes Church should pay seven shillings pension yearly to the sacristy of the Church of Winchcombe, and should enjoy peace and liberty.

A certain Reginald was at that time Parson of Hailes, and the agreement made by the Bishops was faithfully observed during Reginald's life. One of his successors, however, Simon, pretending that he had parochial right (in spite of Pope Alexander the Fourth's confirmation to Winchcombe of the Church of Hailes in 1175), refused to pay, but was compelled to do so (after a long litigation), by the Abbot and Convent. (Cf. p. 65, Landboc, vol. I.) "The same suit was also for tithes of one hide of land in Great Cockbury, and of another in Gretton, which the same Simon demanded of the same monks ; and sentence was given for the monks for the same tithes—those two hides being in the Parish of Winchcombe. And the same judges (Everard, Prior of Studley, Jordan, Dean of Warwick, and William de Tonbridge, delegates of Pope Celestine III., c. 1194) decreed the Church of Hailes, altogether, then and after, to be a mother-church and baptismal, to abide for ever ; and the yearly payment of the said 7s. and a certain rent of corn, called Churchset, to be paid (to) the said monks yearly, which had been paid them." (Cf. Cartulary of Winchcombe, Ed. Phillips, p. 10, and Landboc I., page 66).

This enables us to date the present (or ? second) Church* at Hailes to (c.) 1140, as well as the strengthening of the long since vanished Castle ; the moated site of which can still be traced, however, at a distance of 150 yards due east of the Church.

To this date probably belong the shafts and reeded caps that carry the later chancel-arch, as well as another reeded cap

* Robert I. was Abbot of Winchcombe 1138-52.

embedded (as building material) in the north wall of the Frater of the adjacent Abbey, and, in addition, a lozenge-molded voussoir found by the writer in the sub-vault of the dorter, in July, 1906. Careful examination of both easternmost N and S chancel windows tells the story of original wide-splayed Norman windows; upon the splays of which frescoes of the date of Edward II. have been painted. Then one splay of each window has been built up in order to form (decorated) narrow windows; while the remaining splay has been repainted. Still later, by a long period, (the cattle from outside probably did it), the Edwardian tracery became ruinous, and the present harmless attempt at Gothic molded-tracery was inserted in its place.* From the presence of such fragments it may be concluded that most of the Norman architecture of the little Parish Church gave place to pointed work early in the fourteenth century, as indeed is evidenced by the curvilinear tracery of the east window.

But it is not impossible that Ralph de Wirecester† was actually put in to occupation of Hailes by William de Tancarville, or Camerarius (sen.). He was himself certainly succeeded there by another de Tancarville, William (jun.). It is also possible, though not probable, that he was the same with one of the name who in 1168 appears paying scutage of one mark for one fee in Northumberland. (Cf. Feudal England, J. H. Round, p. 286). In Stapleton's Norman Rolls (II., clii.) the Church of Hailes is shewn to have been given by William (Chamberlain) de Tancarville to the family-Abbey of Boscherville,‡ and King Henry I. had confirmed it (c. 1113). A charter of the second William, the Chamberlain giving a tract of wood and plain between Alne and his manor of Easton, contains the name of Reginald, Chaplain of Hailes, for the first witness, and Walter de Fernecote (Farmcote), for another.§ This

* The Sedilia of the XIV. C. have been cut through in late times to make a priest's door. Their geometrical decoration in colour can still be made out.

† Possibly a natural son of Urso d'Abetot, the Sheriff of Worcester.

‡ Boscherville, near Rouen. This magnificent church was built by Ralph de Tancarville in substitution for a pre-existing oratory of St. George. He was the Preceptor and Chamberlain to William the Conqueror. See the splendid illustration in my friend Rivoira's 'Origini' Vol. II., pp. 163-173.

§ Another witness to the above charter was Nicholas de Brueria, who held land at the Ford, "where anciently was a mill" adjoining Winchcombe, between A.D. 1157-1171. This Abbot Gervase gave him, and he was paying 18d. in the days of Abbot Ralph, the second (1184). (Cf. Landboe, vol. I., 184, note 2). Other witnesses, still, were Jordan of Brockhampton and his three sons, Helias, Henry, and Ralph. (Cf. the Carta of Winchcombe Abbey in the Liber Niger).

XIII. CENT. TILES



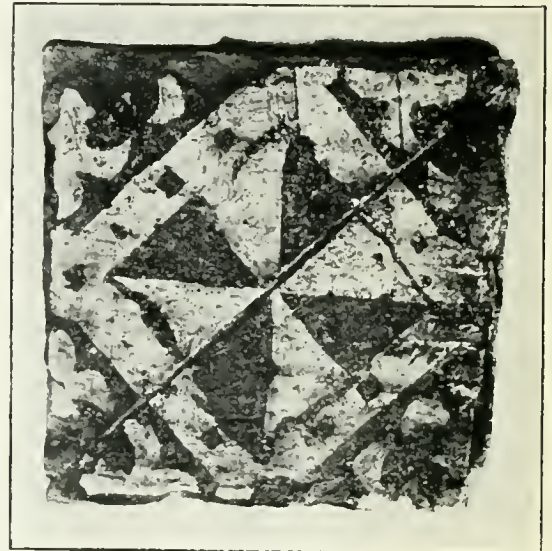
PROVENCE



DE WARRENNE



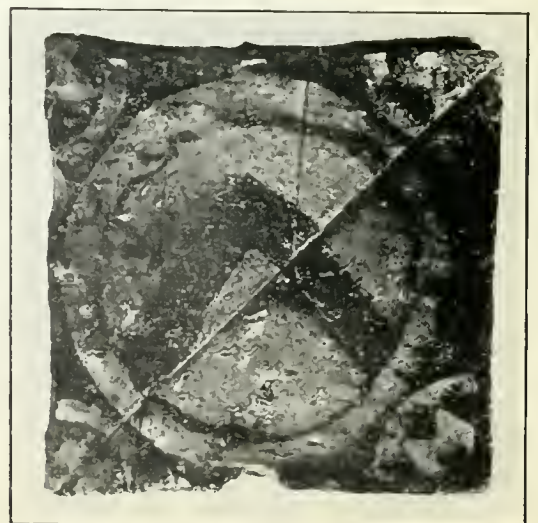
DE FERREKS



DE FERRERS



RICHARD
Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans.



DE STAFFORD

perhaps points to his residence at Hayles Castle as well as proves that Ralph de Wirecester in Stephen's day, cannot have founded, but may have merely rebuilt, the Church, and strengthened the small Castle.

A passage in the cartulary of Winchcombe* (p. 219), however, clearly shows that this same Ralph de Wirecester was really a tenant of John de Sudeley, at Sudeley—the same lord who married Grace de Traci. This suggests strongly that Ralph de Wirecester, instead of being a mere intruder, was acting in the interests of the lord of Sudeley during his violent differences with the neighbouring Abbey of Winchcombe, in the absence of Tancarville, the Lord of Hailes. The whole incident has not improbably been exaggerated by the monkish writer in the *Cartularium*, who certainly lived long after the events he described, and was unaware that Hailes had had a Church before the reign of Stephen.

Such were the Lords of Hailes Manor during the years of that anarchy and civil war, which, in the mid-twelfth century went strangely to the making of England. As yet 'the People' was of no account in politics. "The villeins tied to the soil of the manor on which they had been born and shut out from all courts save that of their lord; the inhabitants of the little hamlets that lay along the river-courses, or in the clearing among dense woods, suspicious of strangers, isolated by an intense jealousy of all that lay beyond their own boundaries, or by traditional feuds, held no part in the political life of the nation. . . . The old English hundred courts, where the peasants' petty crimes had once been judged by the freemen of the district, had now in most cases become part of the fief of the lord, whose newly-built castle towered over the wretched hovels of his tenants, and the peasants came for justice to the Baron's court, and paid their fees into the Baron's treasury." (Cf. Mrs J. R. Green, Henry II.)

The distance of Hailes from the great main roads (for the Salt-way,† though important, had now become of secondary rank) should have secured it immunity from the ravages of war; but we must remember that it had for neighbours the Borough of Winchcombe, with (apparently) an old, as well as a new, royal

* Ed. Phillips.

† A. S. Sealt-vey. It is known still in part of it, south of Hailes, as Salters Lane. In old days strings of ponies laden with salt used to be met with on their route from Droitwich to Lechlade, but the opening up of the country by means of canals turned the ancient traffic of the Wiccii (*i.e.*, the Saltmen) into other scenes.

castle, garrisoned by Stephen in 1140, and, at a short half-a-mile from that, rose the stronghold of John de Sudeley and his lady, Grace de Traci, otherwise, Sudeley Castle; at that moment filled with the partisans of the Empress Maud, and of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, her (natural) half-brother.

William of Malmesbury relates that the redoubtable Milo, Constable of Gloucester, made himself master of Hereford on behalf of the Empress. This took place probably soon after he (together with the same Robert, Earl of Gloucester*) had sacked and burned Worcester (Nov. 7, 1139),—having lately (October) abandoned the cause of Stephen, and having been excommunicated by the Bishop of Hereford. Soon after this event Stephen's favoured Waleran, Earl of Mellent (or Meulan),† and (?) Worcester, arrived there. ('Comes civitatis Wigorniae venit,' says the continuator of Florence of Worcester.) The Earl came to Worcester on November 13th, and viewing the ravage of the flames, mourned over the wretched city, feeling that the crime was done against himself. Wherefore, flushed with vengeance, he hurried off to Sudeley with a body of troops, having learned that John FitzHarald (*i.e.*, de Sudeley) had changed sides and had joined Robert, Earl of Gloucester.‡ That was indeed the best reason for the raid, and a strong expression of loyalty to Stephen. "If it be inquired what the Earl did there—he seized the people, their goods and cattle, and carrying them off, he returned next day to Worcester."

Evidently he made a deliberate raid but accomplished little more; otherwise, he would have occupied the stronghold of Sudeley, and would, by no means, have returned so rapidly to Worcester. Within three weeks Stephen himself marched to Worcester and (1139) conferred upon William de Beauchamp,§ Sheriff of the county, the Constablership and fief of Gloucester, forfeited by Milo,|| owing to his revolt.

* Of whom the same writer remarked, "From the Normans you derive your military skill, from the Flemings your personal grace, from the French your unrivalled munificence." See note below.

† Son of Robert de Beaumont and Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh, Count of Vermandoise. Created Lord of Dorchester 1138.

‡ Robert FitzRoy, half brother to the Empress Maud, or Matilda, created Earl of Gloucester 1121. Governor of Caen and of Bristol, died Oct. 31st. 1147, and was buried at St. James, Bristol, which he had founded.

§ Son of Walter de Beauchamp and Emmeline, d. and h. of Urso D'Abitot.

|| Ob. Dec. 2nd, 1143. On Dec. 24th Milo was mortally wounded while hunting in the Forest of Dene.

Two years later (1141-42) a charter of the Empress (Cf. pp. 313-314, 'Geoffrey de Mandeville,' J. H. Round) shews that William de Beauchamp (after the manner of his enemy, Milo of Gloucester), now followed suit, and having revolted from Stephen became a jealous rival to Waleran, Earl of Mellent and Worcester. Meanwhile, the Continuator of Florence,* states that "Milo the ex-Constable, having assembled a numerous army, attacked Winchcombe on Thursday, January 31st (1140) and burned the greater portion of the town, which he plundered. And he carried off many of those he had robbed in order to exact ransoms. Thence he turned his attention to Sudeley; but while preparing to assault it, the Royal Garrison (? in the Castle) fell upon him and forced him to retire, leaving two of his followers dead, and fifteen prisoners."

The *Gesta Stephani* adds that he took Winchcombe Castle.

This should make it certain that within the ten weeks between the Earl of Mellent's attack on Sudeley and that made by Milo, the ex-Constable, a royalist garrison had taken possession of Sudeley; probably, owing to the former attack!

It would be of interest could we know precisely what part in these manœuvres of the two 'mighty opposites,' Ralph de Wirecester of Hailes, took. In their lurid light, however, it might be suggested that he fortified the castle there in the interest of, or as an outpost for his lord, John (FitzHarald) de Sudeley; but as the statements concerning his doings there, in the *Landboc* of Winchcombe, were made long after the events recorded, it is safer not to take them too literally.

But the woes of the once important Mercian city were by no means over. For Milo, considering the place of serious importance to possess, and John de Sudeley being out of his own neighbouring stronghold, the latter, together with Milo's son Roger,† seems to have set about building (or was it re-building?), a fresh fortress at Winchcombe itself. The meaning of this is more readily understood if we remember that John de Sudeley's lady, Grace de Traci, was daughter of a natural son of Henry I. Hence, she was a niece to Robert, Earl of Gloucester and of the Empress, and may well have persuaded her lord to fight against Stephen. Their tenants and villeins both in Winchcombe and Sudeley would therefore have not unwillingly put their town

* Florence of Worcester died July 7th, 1118.

† Afterwards Earl of Hereford. Died 1157.

and castle into Milo's hands, so to operate against the Royalists now gotten into Sudeley. What this signified for the town may be imagined from William of Malmesbury's narrative of this very year of grace, A.D. 1140. "The entire year was embittered by the horrors of war. Though many castles stood for the defence of their respective surroundings, in reality they laid them waste. Their garrisons cleared the cattle from the fields, not even sparing those in the cemeteries and belonging to the churches. Any bailiffs, or yeomen, whomsoever they thought monied, they compelled by extreme torture to promise what they willed. The houses of the wretched yokels were skinned even of the thatch, and themselves chained in prison; nor were these released unless they had given their last, or been able to borrow. Many expired in tortures, imploring God to end their miseries. It was of little use that at the instance of the Earl, a certain Legate (and with him the Bishops) repeatedly excommunicated those who laid violent hands upon men in holy orders and monks, or (those) who plundered the churches and violated the churchyards," To increase the mischief, many professional marauders from Flanders and Brittany appeared on the scene intent on plunder. The Earl of Gloucester seized his opportunity where it presented itself, no doubt inspired by the agile genius of Milo; and in the 'Historia Novella' (Lib. II. sub. anno 1140) the Chronicler tells us that Sudeley, Cerney, and Harptre, were levelled with the ground, ('solo complanant') even as was Wallingford Castle.

The warders on the battlements of Hailes may well have known what was going on over there at Sudeley and Winchcombe. The servitors of Ralph de Worcester and John de Sudeley were, like their masters, no friends of the Abbey of Winchcombe, and when but a few years later in the fray, that ancient convent and its surrounding houses burst into the red flames which consumed all its Records, they may have watched the glare on sky and hillside with complacency.

This event perhaps took place in 1144, when the great Milo, Earl of Hereford, had been slain, like Rufus, by an accidental arrow in the forest of Dene. But his son, Roger, Lord of Painswick, etc. ('jure uxoris') had then succeeded him, and had partly rebuilt either Sudeley Castle, or made a fresh castle in Winchcombe itself. For, Stephen failing to take Tetbury, which he had besieged, was persuaded to march upon Winchcombe, which he may have done *via* Cirencester, Chedworth and Hawling, thus taking it by something

FIG. 3.



XIV. C. TILES

1 AND 2. BEARING ANJOU AND CASTILE 3. A MONSTER

of a surprise. The author of the 'Gesta,' under this year (1144), expressly tells us that at the news of the King's approach many fled away, and that the remaining garrison was, in consequence, but small. The Castle of Roger is described as situated on a steep declivity and having a very high wall. "He, therefore, ordered it to be stormed. Some were to discharge showers of arrows; others were to scale the mound, while still more were to keep moving round the walls, throwing into the castle whatever missile came to hand." Unable to withstand the assaults, the garrison presently surrendered to the King, who with little delay set out thence (having once more garrisoned Winchcombe), to attack Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk.

Probably soon after the commencement of the reign of Henry II. William de Solers gave to the Abbey of Winchcombe the tithes of his demesne at Potteslepe (Postlip) together with the dwelling which had been held of him by one Maynard, quit of every service, royal and other, in order to support the Chapel of St. James, then being built by him there. In addition he granted Churchscot from eight yardlands, that is to say, eight quarters of bread-corn; while his tenants had also given a half-yard land. The Churchscot was for the purpose of affording better lighting in the Monastery.

In their turn, the monks engaged to celebrate full mass when he, William de Solers, with his wife, and heirs, are present, and also when he is absent, on Lord's Days, Feast days, Wednesdays and Fridays. They therefore find the resident Chaplain and appoint him.

The witnesses to the Donation were Ralph de Sudeley (John was, therefore, dead), Robert de Dicesdon (Dixton), and William de Traci.

The original grant, the Cartulary says, was destroyed by fire at the Monastery; but Roger, son and heir of William de Solers, and Ermingarde, his lady, confirmed it to the Abbey (c.), 1171. (Cf. Landboc, vol. I., p. 85.)

This Grant is attributed to the reign of Stephen as also is the Chapel-building at Postlip, in the Landboc; but probably his charter should not be dated before 1165, or eleven years later than that King's death. Hence, if the Charter (as stated by the monkish author in the Landboc), was destroyed by a fire at the Abbey, he was mistaken in attributing that fire to the date of Stephen's reign. It may have been the fire in the days of Henry II.

That such a fire took place is shewn by reference to the Cartulary (p. 13). The copy of the Charter contains no reference to the Chapel having been built for a refuge. The words '*propter metum guerre*' may be an after-insertion in the Confirmation of the Charter by the Founder's son (Cf. p. 84, Landboc. vol. I.) The actual words in the latter are '*capella quam pater meus ibidem tempore hostilitatis construxit*'; the words '*regis Stephani*' after '*hostilitatis*' are likewise a later insertion. It becomes clear, therefore, that the period of hostility may refer to King Henry's expedition against Wales, *i.e.*, 1157-8. It would seem, then, that Postlip Chapel may have been raised (by the desire of Ermingarde de Solers) as a thank-offering to St. James that the sword, his symbol, was at last sheathed; that the borders of the kingdom were now safe, and the worst elements of disorder suppressed.

Nevertheless, as the late editor of the Landboc has said:—Although "the first ten years of the reign of Henry the Second were singularly happy and prosperous, Winchcombe lay for some time scathed and waste. Houses were ruinous and void." He rightly adduces the evidence of the Pipe Rolls:—

"In 1155-6, the aid to the King from Winchcombe assessed at 100s. only amounts to 12s. and the large deficiency is set down to waste ('de wasto'), and the plea is allowed. (Anno 2, Hen. II.). The locality took a long while to recover. In 1162-3 the Sheriff owes for aid from Winchcombe 1v.s. All is in waste (anno 9, Hen II.) Even in 1188-9 (anno 23, Hen. II.) the Justices in Eyre (itinerant) assessed Winchcombe at but four marks—£2 13s. 4d.—while they assessed Cheltenham at £5 and Gloucester at 100 marks, or £66 13s. 4d. In the latter year (a. 1, Richard I.) Robert de Marmion and his fellows return the Men of Winchcombe as owing xvi.s. viii.d. 'de dono.'"

Nothing can speak more definitely than such figures, to the far-fallen condition of the ancient Mercian Borough; yet, in the words of a Historian of this period:—"In spite of the cry of lamentation which the chroniclers carry down to us over the misery of a land stricken by plague and famine and rapine, it is still plain that even through the terrible years of Stephen's reign England had its share in the universal movement by which the squalor and misery of the Middle Ages were giving place to a larger activity and a better order of things. A class unknown before was fast growing into power—the middle class of burghers and

traders who desired, above all things, order, and hated, above all things, the mediæval enemy of Order, the feudal lord. . . . Amid all the confusion of civil war the industrial activities of the country had developed with a bewildering rapidity; while knights and barons led their foreign hirelings to mutual slaughter, monks and canons were raising their religious houses in all the waste places of the land, and silently laying the foundations of English enterprise and English commerce. To the great body of the Benedictines and the Cluniacs were added, in the middle of the twelfth century, the Cistercians." (Cf. Henry II., Mrs J. R. Green, p. 41).

Almost the first Cistercian house in Gloucestershire was now founded by Roger, Earl of Hereford, at Flaxley in the Forest of Dene, to commemorate the death of his father, Milo, who had been mortally wounded at that place in 1143. How long the Castle that Roger had built at Winchcombe lasted, it is as impossible to say, as it is regarding that of Hailes; either, whether it survived its capture and occupation by Stephen, and became the home of Ralph and Otuer de Sudeley during the remainder of the century, or, if it was demolished, and, later on, rebuilt by these barons.* The miseries of anarchy were now over, and the exhausted country felt itself recovering under the influence of a capable and energetic King, to whom Law shone as a guiding-star.

Of Hailes Castle we hear nothing more. It was probably demolished. Ralph de Wirecester had either taken temporary advantage of the absentee lords, Rabel de Tancarville and William the second, his son, and occupied the place for his lord, John de Sudeley, or, he had done so by lease from them. But we hear almost nothing concerning the actual owners. However, the Landboc of Winchcombe (vol. I., 184) provides us (as already mentioned) with a solitary 'Carta' or 'Certificate' of William de Tancarville, (2) granting to Winchcombe Abbey the plain and woodland *between Alne and his Manor of Aston*, against which a claim had been made. His men are to enjoy the common there, and the land is to remain unbroken.

* The moated Castle at Hailes was never rebuilt. Had it been standing at the time when Richard, Earl of Cornwall (1245), possessed the manor, it is there his child, Richard, would have been born to Sanchia. At the head (E.) of Hailes Field can be traced a road, often mistaken for a ditch, which led to the Castle entrance, crossing the road leading up to Farmcote, at right angles. At its southern end it has been destroyed by the Monk's Pool, and beyond that by 'made ground' raised for orchards. Originally it cut into the Salt-way.

The witnesses to this are :—

<i>Reginald, Chaplain of Hailes</i>	Hervey de Little Alne
<i>Adam, the priest</i>	<i>Jordan of Brockhampton</i>
Robert de Beaume	His three sons, Helyas, Henry and Ralf
Walter de Lillebeo	Walter di Farncote
Geoffrey de Calce (? Caux)	<i>Nicholas de Brueria</i>
Burchard D'Abitot	Isaac
Roger de Cleci	William, the Cook
Nicholas, the Cook	Robert Dispenser
Roellent Brito	and three Burgesses : Goldwin, Osbert, Alan
Matthew de Witteley	
Richard	

Nicholas de Brueria was Reeve (Præpositus) of the Hundred, and after A.D. 1171, King's Bailiff. He was probably dead c. 1191, and had been a tenant of a portion of Winchcombe Abbey ground, *i.e.*, belonging to the Infirmary. He enjoyed the monk's corrody of bread and beer, and thick pottage, in the kitchen, and the habit of S. Benedict, by a special grant. (vol. I., Landboc, 213, 214) from Abbot Henry (1171–1181).

Jordan of Brockhampton, son of Gerbod, and father of Helias, Henry, Ralph, and Walter, Amicia and Maud, was a tenant of William, Earl of Gloucester, and also of Winchcombe Abbey. Accused of the murder of one Thomas, he took the habit of S. Benedict at Winchcombe, and remitted his claim to nine virgates, or yardlands, in Sherborne, as well as all his land in Winchcombe, except the house of Osbern Smelred (in Betar Street). All his sons, brothers, and sisters, joined in the conveyance, and took their oaths upon the altar to observe it.

It will be well at this point to state (as far as may be done), the obscure pedigree of the Tancarville-Chamberlains, the owners of Hailes. For, at the conclusion of the century, King John appropriated their English properties, and, at Hailes Manor, put in a new lord, though the Church continued duly confirmed to the Abbey of St. George at Boscherville, as Henry I. had given it. [c. 1124].

FIG. 4.



St. C. B.

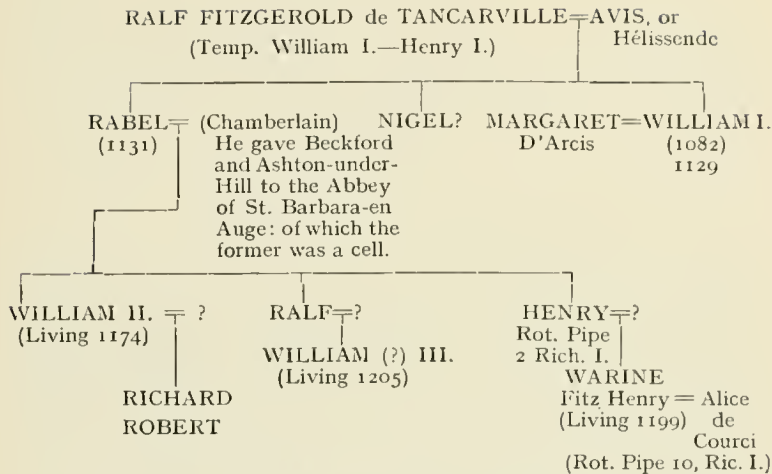
RESPOND AT ANGLE OF SOUTH AISLE AND TRANSEPT



St. C. B.

SHRINE OF THE HOLY BLOOD

PEDIGREE



Ralf Fitzgerold de Tancarville (Chief Chamberlain to William I.) is said, by some, to have married Hawise (or Avicia), by whom, or by another wife, he had Rabel, Nigel, and William (I.) The last-named, who, in 1086, held three hides in Wincot, Gloucestershire, two hides at Hartwell, Bucks, and Totenhou in Bedfordshire, married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of William D'Arcis. The family-centre was near Abetot in Normandy. They were, as Founders, the especial patrons of the College and Abbey of St. George of Boscherville, near Rouen, to whose Canons the church and tithes of Redmarley d'Abitot (Co. Gloucester) in 1105 were granted by Ralf. To this same St. George de Boscherville, as we have seen, King Henry I. gave the Church of Hailes. "Moreover, the king (Hen. I.) gives the church of Hailes as Richard, Bishop of London (1108–1127), held it, and as William de Tancarville received it of the king's gift, and the land of Weston and £x of rent (librates) as William gave it." Further, (1115–1129) the Charter of Henry (as given by Mr Round in his invaluable Calendar of the Documents of France) states:—"the goods of the said Abbey of St. George de Boscherville shall be free of tolls and other dues throughout his demesne, and in England its men are to be quit of shire and hundred-courts, hidage, and all other claims at Avebury and Weston, which belonged to his demesne, and from all other dues."*

* Witnesses: Bernardo Epis. de S. D(avid) et Johanne, Lexoviensi (Lisieux) episcopo, et Willelmo Camerario de Tancarvilla, et G(alfrido) filio Pagani, apud Winton(iam).

Rabel became Chamberlain to Henry I. in due course, and held that official honour in 1131. (Cf. Cal. Doc. Fr. p. 67), of the date of his decease there is (as yet) no certain knowledge; but it is possible that the following from a 2 Hen. II. (*i.e.* 1156), Great Roll of the Pipe (p. 25) is to be referred to him.

In perdonis per brevia Regis, Camerarius de Tancarville.

xl. s. (Glos.)

xx. s. (Warwickshire)

Nova placita et Conventiones, a. 4, Hen. II.

xl. s. et xliid. (Warw.) (p. 185)

His son, *William (II.)*, in 1156-62 witnessed a Charter of Henry II. addressed to the Archbishop of Rouen; and again 1170-83 (p. 525, *id.*) In 1169-71 he likewise witnessed a Charter of Robert, Count of Meulan, and, in 1174, an agreement between Joan, Abbess of Caen, and Robert de Scrotonia (? Scrutton). In 1174 he was in revolt with other Barons against the king.

In 1180 occurs a Charter of Henry II. confirming to the same magnificent Norman Abbey its possessions, including in England twenty-two librates in Avebury (Aves(ber)ia) near Salisbury, seven librates, that is the third of the Vill, in Cadecoma, fifty shillings of rent; and also by gift of King Henry I. the Church of Ailes (Hailes) with all its appurtenances, as Richard, Bishop of London held it free as William de Tancarville received by gift of King Henry (I.)

In 1201 (a. 3, John)

William de Tancarvilla (?) *III.* occurs, holding from the Honour of Gloucester.

Debet. 11*iii*. de scutagio (owes two marks of Scutage) (Cf. Rot. Cancellarii, p. 44) and fifty shillings in pardons 'per brevia Regis' (Wiltshire), p. 59.

Also in Rotulum de Oblatis (p. 75, membr. 6 in dorso).

Plegium Camar' de Tancarvilla quod satisfaciatur Domino Regi de eo quod fuit ad Torneamentum prohibitum per Regem.

Subsequently, the family, though ousted by King John, declared their claim to recover, in the person of Robert de Tancarville, the Chamberlain; but it is certain that the Crown held and disposed of Hailes Manor as it pleased, and as we shall now observe.

CHAPTER III.

SUCCESSORS OF THE TANCARVILLES.

THE death of King Richard, owing to a neglected wound, closed the stormy twelfth century, yet transferred its storms to the more brilliant thirteenth. The affairs of Normandy, and King John's breach with France, rendered the position of those who held fees both in England and Normandy, precarious. The barons objected to service abroad, while a policy of relentless extortion oppressed them at home. The severance of Normandy from England was at hand. The Tancarville-Chamberlains owing the dual allegiance, (in their own interests) made submission to King Philip in Normandy, and consequently they lost their estates in England to King John*; while the favourite upon whom the King now (1204) bestowed the Manor of Hailes, was one who, at the Coronation of Richard in 1189 had carried the cap of maintenance, even Geoffrey de Luci,† and was brother (?) of the more famous Richard de Luci. He had been trained under Henry II. and had been regarded as the rising man in 1184. But he was allowed to retain his new lands only until 1212-13, when, joining the Barons against the King, after their entry into London, he lost his dignities, and we find Hailes in the possession of the Norman Robert de St. Valery, a knight whose powerful kinsfolk held an entire Honour in Oxfordshire, as well as Gamaches in France, and in 1201 land near Stanway.‡ The Manor seemed destined to remain henceforth but a brief time in anyone's possession; and it passed rapidly through that of Thomas le Veel, being worth then £30 per annum; and in 1221 (a. 5, Hen. III.) it was held by Eudo de la Jaille§ (Cf. Maitland's *Pleas of the Crown*, p. 10).

* A. 3. John. Wm. Chamberlain (de T.) is found holding of the Honour of Gloucester, and owes two marks of scutage. Rot. Cancell. p. 44.

† King John's natural son, Richard, ultimately married the daughter and heiress of Geoffrey de Luci (Rotul. Clans. 230).

‡ Co. Glos. Arms: Or, 2 lions passant guardant.

§ Perhaps this is the individual Rudder meant by John de Julin, of whom I can find no record.

But although the Tancarvilles had been ousted from their Gloucestershire Manor, it must not be supposed they immediately gave up hope of its ultimate recovery. It would seem that Thomas le Veel held Hailes by the King's bail, and that Robert de Tancarville the Chamberlain, had declared by letters to le Veel his conceived rights. (Cf. Charter Rolls, May 28, 1228, a. 12, Hen. III., p. 77). Moreover, twenty years later, in a grant made by the same King at Beaulieu (Hants), June 16th, 1246, to his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and his heirs, it is specially recited:—"that if the heirs of the Normans or other persons having any rights over the manor of Hayles, where the said Earl has founded a Cistercian Abbey, shall recover their lands in England, or if any other persons shall lay claim to that manor, *then*, the King and his heirs will satisfy the said Earl and his heirs, to whom the King is bound to warrant that manor so that the said Abbey shall always continue there unharmed." (Cf. Charter Rolls). From this it is manifest that although the Tancarvilles aspired to recover their English lands, the Crown was determined to retain its hold.

It is perhaps difficult to fully account for the repeated changes of Manor-lord at this time. In 1221 (a. 5, Hen. III.) the pleas of the Crown (as we saw), gave us yet another, Eudo de la Jaille (p. 10) who held land* in Somersetshire.

These were succeeded in 1233 by the more notorious Englehard de Cigony, once an especial object of hate on the part of the Barons, and named as a foreign mercenary in the Magna Carta. Under Henry III. he rose to high favour, becoming Custos of the Honour of Dursley† (1224), and Governor of Windsor Castle. (See Rotulum Litter. Claus. Liber Niger, and Testa de Nevill). He came from Ciconiac near Loches, and was Sheriff of Gloucester until July 8th, 1215. When Lewis of France landed, Englehard gallantly held Odiham against him with but thirteen men. Later on he held Windsor, likewise successfully, and became rewarded with lands and a pension. (Cf. Rot. Claus. vol. I 470 and 471, 486, 491, 517, 521, 526, 538, 541, 556, 563). He further spent much money in strengthening Hereford and Bristol. His position, however, was in shadow in 1223, from which he successfully emerged, and in 1233 and 1234 fresh honours were heaped upon him. Windsor (of which he had been deprived), and Odiham, were then returned

* In 1210-11 he held one fee of the Honour of Bononia (Boulogne).

† Co. Glos.

FIG. 5



Max Clarke.

NV. CENT. CLOISTER-ARCADE

to his custody, and the Vill of Hailes was granted to him to farm on the following terms :—

A. 17. Hen. III. (1233). Pro Engelhardo de Cigogny Rex com-misit E de C ad se sustentandum in servicio regni quamdiu Regi placuerit, firmum Ville de Hayles percipiendum de Hominibus de Hayles terminis statutis quibus inde regi respondere tenebantur ad scaccarium (exchequer) usque ad terminum ad quem Rex villam illam remisit ad firmam. Et Mandatum est ipsis hominibus quod de predicta firma eodem Englehardo sint intendentes et respondentes, sicut predictum est.

“ Teste ut supra.

“ Item Englehardus habet literas per eadem verba directas omnibus, etc., ad firmum pro LX. libras annuas.” (*℥*60, p.a.) (Cal. Pat. Rolls, p. 217).

Dying without heirs, in 1243, Engelhard was succeeded at Windsor by Simon de Montfort, the king's brother-in-law, while his property at Hailes once more reverted to the Crown. (Cf. Excerpt : Rot. Fin. pp. 423-4, and Rot. Hundred, 11, p. 30).

Few facts relating to Hailes in this period reach us, except that contained in the Pleas of the Crown (p. 119) showing that Hailes was amerced in the sum of 20s. in A.D. 1221, for the flight of Ralph, the ‘ Bloodletter,’ (? Highwayman), who had come thither from Wormington, and was to be captured. Eudo de la Jaille was its lord then; and perhaps the Castellan of Hailes, once holding him, should have kept the second Ralph, or have despatched him.

At the same time, however, we hear of the neighbouring Manor of Pynnokshire (4 hides) as being held by Geoffrey de Craucombe, a well-known naval commander under King John (Cf. Close Rolls, a XVII-XVIII. John) which had been lately held by Ralph de Ruperiis* in the same manner. This Geoffrey built a mansion at Down Ampney,† and held 100 shillings rent of land at Kempsford. The Pipe Roll (a. 44, Henry III., m. 2) of 1260 shews it as a Manor granted to Hailes Abbey by the King. Geoffrey had died c. 1250, leaving no heirs, so that Pinnock likewise reverted to the Crown.

At Sudeley, the Lords had followed one another and had been buried in Winchcombe Abbey. Otuer in 1192 inherited it from

* De Rivers.

† Dunamenel had but a few years before been granted by John to Warine FitzGerold.

his father Ralph ; and his brother, also Ralph, gave 300 marks to the King for livery of his possessions in 1198, and was in turn succeeded by his son, another Ralph, in A.D. 1222.

Winchcombe Abbey had been partly restored after another fire which occurred in 1182 under Abbot Robert II., and the work was completed under Robert III, with the addition of larger cloisters and other buildings, paid for by the appropriation of the tithes of the Chapel of Snowhill and that of the parish church of Staunton (in 1206), together with the annual pensions of $4\frac{1}{2}$ marks from the Church of Enstone, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ marks from the Chapel of St. Peter at Winchcombe, all under pain of excommunication, saving under stress of famine or urgent need. Water, by leave of John de Solers of Postlip, was brought by a conduit from Hanwell,* or Honiwell, to supply the monastery, and he assigned certain rents of houses near the north gate in Gloucester for the purpose of providing wine for the convent on the feast-day of St. Margaret (Landboe I. p. 73, II. p. 275 ; Dugdale's Mon. vol. II., 312), while he likewise purchased from William de Bethune, the Manors of Halling, Yanworth and Haselton, the advowsons of the churches being added as a gift in 1217, by Daniel de Bethune (Landboe, p. 313).

If we take into consideration King John's rabid taxation of ecclesiastics (though this fell especially upon the Cistercian Order), the foregoing gifts speak well for the peaceful and prosperous condition of Winchcombe, though it perhaps accounts for causes of friction which became more and more frequent between the Lords of Sudeley and the Monastery.

The King's quarrel with the Cistercians, (upon whose wool, their chief resource, his tax fell heavily),† owing to the compromise effected by the tact of Hubert Walter, led strangely enough to the foundation by John himself of the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu, and of yet another in the royal manor of Faringdon, Co. Berks. (Cf. Lib. Roll, a. 5, John, m. 11 (1203) and R. de Coggeshall, 102-103, 147, R.S.) As Beaulieu became the immediate begetter of Hailes Abbey, it is of interest to note here that the Charter of Foundation for Beaulieu is dated at Winchester, January 25th, 1204-5 (Cf. Close Roll, a. 6, John, memb. 19), some few months after the building had been actually begun.

* Ralph de Sudeley gave leave to the Abbot and Convent to make a straight channel for the water course supplying that mill.

† Among vexatious measures adopted by the King, he ordered the Cistercians to withdraw all their cattle and pigs from the Royal woods throughout the kingdom. (Cf. Tom. V., 862, Martene and Durand).

The small hamlet of Hailes, early in King John's reign, or at the turn of the century, had (it is rather doubtfully held) given birth to a remarkable, certainly its most illustrious, child ; namely, to Alexander, commonly known as 'of Hailes' afterwards the Franciscan Theological Doctor ; ' Irrefragible Doctor ' ; ' Monarch of Theologians.' He may (for all we know not) have received his rudiments of education from the monks at Winchcombe. He entered the Franciscan Order soon after its foundation, in 1222, and by his brilliant philosophical lectures largely contributed to establishing that Order as a teaching one. He resigned his chair in 1238, and died in 1245, when the lanes and fields which he may have known at Hailes were busy with preparations for the foundations of the later Cistercian Abbey. (Cf. Erdmann, *Grundriss des Gesch : d. Phil.* 1878. Vol. I. pp. 324-339).

CHAPTER IV.

RICHARD, EARL OF CORNWALL. FOUNDING OF HAILES ABBEY. THE PARISH CHURCH. THE DEDICATION OF HAILES.

IN the Annals of Tewkesbury (I. 98) we are told that Henry, son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and nephew of Henry III., was born to Isabel (Marshal De Clare) November 1st, 1235,* at Hayeley and baptised in the church there by Ralph de Maidstone, Bishop of Hereford. This has been mistaken to mean Hailes in Gloucestershire. That event occurred at Haughley, Co. Suffolk, a property granted to his father, Richard, in 1234, and later given by him to Hailes Abbey, the arms of which still adorn its Church (S. aisle). (Cf. Close Roll, a. 18, Hen III., memb. 28).

It is therefore necessary further to adduce the evidence of the Charter Rolls. By this we see that the Manor of Hailes was not granted to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, until July 15th, 1245 :—

“ Gift to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and his assigns of the Manor of Hayles with the advowson of the Church there, so that he may found there a House of Religion of whatever order he will ; and these religious men shall hold the said manor in Frank Almoign quit of all secular service, as freely as any other religious House holds.” (At Woodstock).

It is, then, clear that Hailes could not (as has sometimes been stated,) have been “ his favourite seat ” in 1235. If Henry, his third child, had really been born at Hailes and baptised there, the Earl and Countess might be imagined to have been the guests of Engelhard at the Castle, but in truth it was not their seat at all. Further, it may well be doubted whether the castle had not already been levelled with the ground. Married at Marlow on Thames (March 30th, 1231) they had had (1) John, b. January 31st, 1232, who died at Marlow the same year (Sept. 22nd), buried at Reading Abbey. (2) Isabella (b. Sept., 1233), died October, 1234, buried at the same place. (3) Henry, b. November 1st, 1235,

* 1235. Eodem tempore nascitur filium Ricardo, Comitis Cornubie, nomine Henricus. Chron. de Hayles, Cleop. D. III., fol. 41 (top).

FIG. 6.



Max Clarke.

DOOR TO FRATER

at Hayeley (Haughley) and buried at Hailes, May 15th, 1271, and (?) (4) Philip, entered Holy Orders and given a benefice, 1248. (Cf. Calend. Papal Registers) (5) Richard (obiit.) and (6) Nicholas, who cost his mother her life at Berkhamstead in 1240, and himself died soon after.

The Chronicle of Hailes (B.M.) states only that Richard (child, not of Isabella, but of Sanchia of Provence, the Earl's second wife) died at Grove Mill (near Hailes) and was buried there (August 15th, 1246).^{*} It is certain that had Henry of Almaine been born at Hailes the local monkish Chronicler of the Abbey would not have omitted mention of such a fact. Grove Mill was situated close to the Abbey,[†] probably immediately N.W. of it. 'They set up tents by the mills' says a contemporary chronicler (Harleian, 3725, fol. 33)—'fixerunt tentoria in molendinis de Hayles'—speaking of the construction of the Abbey. We may therefore assume that a special tent served for the Founder's lodging, and that there was more than one mill.

Having become possessed of the Manor, and of the advowson of the Parish Church, in 1245, Richard set himself to fulfil a solemn vow (made while in extreme danger at sea during his return from Bordeaux in October, 1242, when he had landed, perhaps unable to land elsewhere, on one of the Scilly Isles) to build an Abbey for the Cistercian Order.

Between this date and the following year, 1246, Richard's agents (and quarriers) must have gathered and arranged masses of materials from the quarries, in the neighbourhood of Hailes, both of freestone, of hard blue lias, and of slats or tiles, together with numbers of oak trees, for the work which John the Mason and his men were now to carry out. For the early chronicler of Hailes, while recording his opinion of the etymology of Hailes (D.S. Heiles) explaining it as 'sanus' or healthy, *i.e.* Hale ('Heylis, quod sanus es vel est, intelligitur')—further states that Brother John, the mason, confirmed the name in the presence of Richard the Earl, in the Monastery some seven years before his death. (*Et hoc ipsum nomen in Monasterium primum sua morte lapso fere septennio Frater Johannis Cementarius die lunæ Rogationis, presente Comite, confirmavit*). (Chronicon de Hailes, B. Mus. Cleopatra D. Harleian, MS. fol. 36).

^{*} Cleop. D. III. Eodem vero anno Ricardus Comitis Cornubie quem peperit ei Schencia Comitissa obiit, et sepultus est ad dictum molendinum. Fol. 42.

[†] Juxta Heilis.

And here we may pause for a moment, having obtained the architect's name, to speculate whether we may not have, perhaps, something yet more interesting in this fact, than at first meets the eye. For we are reminded that being called no more than 'John,' this may have been due to the fact that he was a well-known Gloucestershire mason. Can he have been the same with the famous master who worked for King Henry at his Castles in Gloucester and at Guilford, and who presently became, and long remained 'Cementarius Regis' at Westminster Abbey (1249-60), at which latter date he died, as both the Liberate and Close Rolls show? (Cf. Parker's *Dom. Arch.* Vol. I. and 'Westminster Abbey, and its Craftsmen,' p. 161, Lethaby). There is nothing less improbable than that the architect successfully employed by the millionaire Earl Richard at Hailes, should have become handed on by him to his brother, the King. Moreover, we do not hear of any other 'Frater Johannis Cementarius' doing such important work in the Royal employ at this period. It is true that Hailes was not finished until 1251, and John of Gloucester appears at Westminster in 1249-50, but by that time the work at Hailes was far-sped on its way, and could have been carried out with but occasional visits on the part of the master-architect. A little more than seven years before John of Gloucester's decease would give the year of the Dedication of Hailes.

On the other hand the term 'Frater' is never found applied to John of Gloucester, in the Rolls. Its significance, however, may mean no more than that he belonged to a confraternity. Perhaps we should expect 'Magister' rather than 'Frater.' We fear, therefore, that the evidence may be held, so far as it goes, to be slightly stronger for the negative.

The year 1246 is a date full of importance, both for Beaulieu, the mother, and for Hailes, the daughter. For, although begun in 1205, Beaulieu itself had not been finished and dedicated until the 17th of June of this same year, when William, Bishop of Winchester, dedicated it, assisted by the Bishops of Bath, Exeter, and Chichester, in the presence of the King, Queen and the princes, their children, and of Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

Though Matthew Paris places this Dedication to the year 1246, the Charter Rolls fix its exact date.* For, on the previous day (June 16th, 1246), occurs the grant to Richard, Earl of Cornwall,

* Cf. Harl. M. 58, 1, 5, a. 30, Hen. III., at Beaulieu.

given at Beaulieu, in the nature of a guarantee of the Manor and Abbey at Hailes (and to the Abbot and monks there, as given by him), against any possible claims of the descendants of the Norman* Tancarvilles, the former manorial possessors. (Also Cf. Matt. Paris, Hist. Anglorum, R.S. III. 63.)

As the Charter states that ' the said Earl *has founded* a Cistercian Abbey ' in the Manor of Hailes, it is certain that the foundation took place rather earlier in the year than is sometimes stated. (Cf. Archæological Journal, Sept., 1906, where it is given as " 17th June, 1246.") We have already mentioned that the Charter of Beaulieu likewise was granted after the building had made some progress.

The Charter of the Foundation of Hailes is as follows : (Cf. Rudder, Hist. of Gloucester, Appendix)—

" To all sons of Holy Mother the Church to whom this present writing shall come, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, sendeth greeting in the Lord. Know all of ye that we, in honour of Almighty God and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and of All Saints, for the good of our souls and the souls of our ancestors, have founded a certain Abbey of the Order of Cistercians, in the manor of Hayles, which was given to us by Henry, King of England, our brother ; and the said manor we have given and granted, with all its appurtenances, and by this present Charter have confirmed, unto the Abbot and Monks serving God and the Blessed Mary in that place, and to their successors, in free, pure, and perpetual aims ; together with the advowson of the Church of that Manor, with all its appurtenances, liberties, homages, and the services of the free men ; and all escheats in villeins and villenages, in rents and woods, in meadows, plains and pastures, in waters, mills, ponds and fishponds, in the ways and paths, and in all things appertaining to the said manor freely, quietly, peaceably, and entirely free and discharged from all secular services, from any exaction and demands, to have and to hold for ever freely, quietly, and as fully as any other alms can be granted, and we and our heirs will warrant the same Manor with all its appurtenances aforesaid to the same Abbey and Convent, and their successors, against all men and women, and as free, and quit, and perpetual alms, will we acquit and

* Si heredes Normannorum, etc.

defend the same for ever more, and that this our Grant and concession may be of utmost and lasting force we have hereunto set our seals.

Witnesses :

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester
 Peter of Savoy
 (The Lord) William of York, Lord President of Beverley
 Robert Passilewe, Archdeacon of Lewis
 Simon de Everdon, Archdeacon of Chester
 Hugh de Vivone
 Peter of Geneva
 Robert de Muchgros
 Paulin Pejare
 William de Ireby
 Giles Chancell
 William Blundell
 Philip de Eye ; Clerks, and many others.

The advowson of the Parish Church had apparently not gone with it to the Abbey of St. George de Boscherville to which the Church itself had been given by Henry I. with a Charter. It may therefore have remained with the Norman Lords of the Manor, and have passed with their manor to the Crown (c. 1202). For the rights of the Abbey are seen to be assured by the ' *Inspeximus* and *Confirmatio* ' of the aforesaid Charter by Henry III. at Southwick, dated June 25th, 1253. " Moreover the king himself gives the Church of Hailes, as Richard (De Belmeis, 1108-27), Bishop of London, held it, and as William de Tancarville received it of the king's gift " ; that is, King Henry I. gave the Church of Hailes to the endowment of St. George de Boscherville ; which was re-confirmed in 1180, by Henry II. (Cf. *Calend. Doc. France*, J. H. Round). As an alien Abbey, therefore, St. George must have continued to draw profits from the tithes of this Church at Hailes, through Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and now and henceforward, for a time, through the Abbots of Hailes.* There probably took place an exchange between the respective Abbots.

The first Abbot of Hailes was Jordan, whom, together with twenty monks and ten ' *Conversi* ' (lay brothers) the Earl now

* They likewise were granted in earlier days the Church of Avebury in Wilts.

FIG. 7.



Max Clarke.

LAVATORY. XV. CENT.

THE REAR-WALL RESTORED WITH VAULTING-RIBS OF CHAPTER-HOUSE



St. C. B.

STANWAY HOUSE AND GATEWAY
FROM THE CHURCHYARD

brought (July 19th, 1246) from Beaulieu (where Jordan had been Prior), by leave of the General Chapter of the Order.

They camped out in tents at a spot close to the work. Soon after this we find Sanchia, the Countess of Cornwall, giving birth, at this same mill, to a child named Richard, which died there, and was there buried temporarily. (See Ante). Afterwards, when the Abbey was completed, the body was taken up and carried to it, and given a more honourable interment. (Cf. Fol. 42 Chron. Cleop. D. III. B.M.)

In January (4, nones) 1248, at Lyons, Innocent IV. (Fieschi) confirmed to the Abbot and Convent of Hailes, (in the Diocese of Worcester), the Grants of the Churches of Hailes and Hagelee (*i.e.*, Haughley, Co. Suffolk) in the Dioceses of Worcester and Norwich, respectively, made to them by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, (who had the patronage thereof, and who built their monastery), and by the Bishops of the said Dioceses. (Cf. Regesta, vol. XXI. Cal. Pap. Reg. R.S. p. 240).

We have seen that Hailes Church had been ordered in 1180 to pay an annual pension of seven shillings to Winchcombe Abbey for its right of Sepulture, and had been declared 'baptismal,' and a mother church. This pension ultimately became commuted, or arranged, between the respective Abbots in 1309. (Cf. Cartul. Winchcombe, fol. 194, Ed. Phillips.)

As we do not in later pre-Reformation days obtain the names of any Parsons of Hailes appointed by the Abbots, there arises a question whether it is, or is not, probable that, being situate so near to the Abbey, this ancient Parish Church became used for the Abbey's Gate-House Chapel? Certain it is that it was largely rebuilt soon after the above-mentioned release by Winchcombe, or early in the fourteenth century, when the east window, with its beautiful curvilinear tracery, took the place of simpler, or Norman, work, and that, a little later in the same century, it received fresco decorations, which the recent restoration has to some extent recovered. The stone slab in the north side of the chancel floor inscribed with the names of (Walter)us and Johanna Bedull, and dating circa 1380 (Cf. Landboc, vol. I, 90), indicates that burials took place.*

It is unfortunate that the two gate-houses of the Abbey, both the outer and the inner, have altogether perished. Even their

* The floriated stone coffin-lids were brought in by the writer from Hailes-field. They had been already removed from the western Galilee of Hailes in 1889, during draining operations. On one is represented a mallet.

position is not at present absolutely determinable. If, however, the entrance-gate to the field of Hailes is situated (by more, perhaps, than mere chance), near the site, and the lumped soil at the roadside beyond it (N.) belonged to one of these gate-houses, it would strengthen the working-hypothesis as to the appropriation of the Parish Church for a Gate-house Chapel. But, in order to arrive at any conjecture as to this, would have to be taken into account which of the roads that reached Hailes Abbey in old days was the most frequented; that reaching the village of Hailes from Evesham and the Worcestershire Hills, or that passing from Winchcombe through Rowley meadow, called Puck-pit? The Hospitium, later called (until thirty years ago, when it was destroyed) the Pilgrims Inn, certainly adjoined the latter road and the Abbey Farm. But that was at no distance from the said Church. A glance at the map favours the former.

On July 30th, 1249 (and on September 11th of the same year), a grant was made to the Abbot and Convent of Free-warren in their demesne-lands of Hailes and Piseley.* The extinct village of Piseley lay on the hillside, south-west of Hailes, and was a member at that time, and later, of the Manor of Sudeley, and with Todding-ton, Newenton, Stanley Pontlarge, Greet, Gretton, Cotes, and Throp, was held in 1284 by John de Sudeley from the King, for two knight's fees. In 1256, disputes (already referred to) began to arise concerning common rights (in which Piseley Grove figures as being "without the common"), between Bartholomew de Sudeley and the Abbot and Convent of Hailes; to which further reference will be made.

To return to the Abbey, however, the endowments of which, at this time of building, were limited to the Manor of Hailes:--

In 1251, after five and a half years' work, the following buildings† were ready for Dedication: the Church and Cloister, the Dorter, the Frater, and Kitchens. Probably the Chapter-house, Warming-parlour, perhaps a portion of the Cellarer's building (or House of the lay-brothers), were on their way to completion, while some others were temporarily constructed in wood. Accordingly, we find the King and Queen Eleanor, and a great suite of nobles

* *i.e.*, Within such a liberty no person might hunt or destroy game, hares, rabbits, partridges, etc., without leave of him to whom the said privilege was granted, under heavy forfeiture.

† Cum ecclesia nobili, dormitorio competenti, refectorio decenti, atque ingenti ambitu Claustrati, sicut patet inspicienti variis officinis sub tegminibus promissis prudenter ornatis in Manerio de Hayles. (Harl. MS., fol. 33, 3725.)

present at Winchcombe on November 7th; it being the Sunday after "All Saints' Day." They were gathered together for the forthcoming dedication of Hailes Abbey. Matthew Paris relates that on the Feast of St. Leonard, Earl Richard (solemnly, and at great expense) dedicated the Church of Hailes.* "The King and Queen were present, and almost all the nobles and prelates of England. There were thirteen Bishops, who all celebrated mass on the day of dedication, each at his own altar, and the Bishop of Lincoln (*i.e.*, Grosteste), solemnly chanted mass at the High Altar. This was on a Sunday, and the nobles feasted sumptuously in company† with the Bishops and others, who ate meat, whilst the religious men (*i.e.*, the Monks) took their places and refreshed themselves with large quantities of fish of various kinds. There were also more than three hundred soldiers. Indeed, were I to describe in full the grandeur of that solemn and festive meeting, I should be held to be exceeding the bounds of truth. When I, Matthew Paris, desired to be informed upon the matter in order that I might not insert falsities in this volume, the Earl without hesitation told me that when all expenses were reckoned he had laid out ten thousand marks‡ (£6700) in the building of that Church; adding this notable and praise-worthy speech:—'Would that it had pleased God that I had expended all that I have laid out in the Castle of Wallingford, in as wise and salutary a manner.'"

The list of the Bishops who were present at the Dedication (Annal. Monast. R.S. ii. 343) includes those of Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, London, Norwich, Sarum, Exeter, Chichester, Bath and Wells, St. Davids, Rochester, and St. Asaph. In addition to the above named prelates should be added the Abbots and priors of Winchcombe, Evesham, Tewkesbury and Gloucester. We may take it that Earl Richard and his Countess Sanchia, the Queen's sister, were residing at Hailes, as before, at Grove Mill. Whether

* *Ecclesia de Heiles dedicata fuit nonas Novembris die, Dominica ubi convenerunt Rex et Regina Angliæ, cum nobili primogenito suo, Domino Edwardo. Episcopi Ecclesiæ XIII., et multi alii, tam abbates quam priores diversorum ordinum, multi insuper magnates Angliæ, Comites, Barones, et alii nobiles ad dictum monasterium die prefato venerunt. Chron. de Hayles, Cleop. D. III., fol. 45. Presentibus Rege et Regina cum sua prole tota atque omnibus anglie magnatibus cum minorum multitudine innumerabili. (MS. Harl. 3725, fol. 36.)*

† *Ipsisque omnibus ad solempne Convivium receptis et in recessu muneribus preciosis dicti Domini Ricardi Comitis honoratis.*

‡ The Chron. de Hayles, Cleop. D. III., says 8000 marks, in which it is corroborated by Harleian MS. 3725: 'Et expensis in pecunia numerata in operacionibus erant octo mille marcis sterlingorum.'

the King and Queen lodged at Sudeley Castle, or at the Castle of Winchcombe, it is not stated. That it was at Winchcombe Abbey they received the Bishops in audience on another matter, upon the day following this dedication, seems probable.

Henry (afterwards known as Henry of Almaine), Richard's son by Isabel (Marshal) was just sixteen years of age ; while Edmund,* Sanchia's son (born at Berkhamstead in December (St. Stephen's day, 1250) was barely a year old.† The former was knighted in 1257, when Richard and his Countess became crowned by Conrad, Archbishop of Cologne, as King and Queen of the Romans, at Aix-la-Chapelle. On their return in the following year, on Palm Sunday, they again appeared at Hailes with a great following.‡ Matthew Paris records that a satirist of the day exclaimed "The money cries out, 'For my sake Cornwall is married to Rome.'" He likewise adds that "a valuation of the Earl's wealth disclosed the fact that he could furnish an hundred marks daily for ten years, without counting the profits arising from his revenues in England and Germany." A building at Aix is still known by the name of 'the Curia of King Richard.' Possibly the relics there include portions of the crown and sceptre which he and Sanchia took with them for their coronation. The next five years witnessed the repeated attempts of Henry III. to nullify, or throw aside, the Provisions of Oxford, which his brother Richard with twenty-three other barons, headed by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, had solemnly sworn to maintain.

At this time the Cistercian Order rapidly relapsed from their early austerity of Rule. Not only was sculpture, stained glass, and more liberal food, permitted, but noble ladies might once a year enter its monasteries. This latter concession was granted by a Cistercian Pontiff, even by him who guaranteed the Relic afterwards to be the venerated treasure of Hailes.§ And yet, in spite of these relaxations, it was probably as much as the monks could do "if they kept steadily to the modified Rule of the Order, and attended the concerns each of his own soul."

* Afterwards Earl of Cornwall, and bringer of the Holy Blood to Hailes.

† Protomartiris S. Stephani Schenchia peperit Ricardo Comiti Cornubie filium nomine Edmundum. (sub. anno. 1250.) Cleop. D. III., fol. 45 Harl. 3725, fol. 12.

‡ Cf. Pertz., Vol. XVI., 483.

§ 1264. Urban IV. at the translation of the remains of the canonised Edmund Rich (once Richard of Cornwall's tutor), at Pontigny, women were permitted to enter the church and all the adjoining buildings of the Convent. (Mart. et Durand, Hist. Eccles. Gen. Tome 3, 1865.)

Let us, therefore, think that as they lived in a House beautiful, and meditated continually upon the Eternal beauty, so they appreciated as ever-present tokens of it, each charm of the lovely scene which extended all around them here, ever varying from white light of dawn to soft rose-light of evening, as it flushed over the hills and rich woodlands, and tinted the gray and golden stone-fronts of their sacred buildings.

FAMILY OF WILLIAM MARSHAL, EARL OF PEMBROKE

d. April 20, 1200

AND

ISABEL, DAU. OF RICHARD STRONGBOWE (de Clare)

ARMS : Per pale, or and vert, a lion rampant gules.

WILLIAM MARSHALL, EARL OF PEMBROKE,	d. 1231
RICHARD	" d. 1234
GILBERT	" [no male issue] d. 1241
WALTER	" d. 1245
ANSELM	" d. 1245
MAUD	" = { (1) HUGH BIGOD, EARL OF NORFOLK.
COUNTESS OF	" = { (2) WILLIAM DE WARREN, EARL OF SURREY.
NORFOLK and	" = { (3) WALTER DE DUNSTANVILLE.
mother of Roger	
Bigod, Earl of	
Norfolk.	
JOAN	" = WARINE DE MONCHENSI OF PAINSWICK.
ISABEL	" = { (1) GILBERT DE CLARE, EARL OF CHESTER.
	" = { (2) RICHARD PLANTAGENET, EARL OF
	CORNWALL.
SYBIL	" = WILLIAM DE FERRARS, EARL OF DERBY
EVA	" = WILLIAM DE BRAOSE, of Brecknock.

CHAPTER V.

THE ABBEY CHURCH AND BUILDINGS

DURING more than three and a half centuries so extensive has been the destruction of the Abbey buildings at Hailes that of the Church, at least, there has been left, above ground, only the remains, some ten feet in height, of the wall of the south aisle, with its responds, including the processional door to the Cloister, placed as usual at the eastern end of the latter. As the earliest extant view of the ruins (dating from before 1712), does not represent more of that wall, we can take it that the main destruction here occurred long before that time. Hailes (like other Abbey churches), has served in the nature of a quarry ever since the Royal Commissioners stripped the lead from its roof and scattered its many treasures.* It would be safe to say that there is scarcely a barn or a cottage for some miles around which has not made use of materials from Hailes—of the rare and costly early English masonry of this once Royal Abbey, called deservedly by one of its early chroniclers ‘The Incomparable.’

Nevertheless, owing to the work undertaken in 1899–1900, and in 1906–9, for the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, it may be said that, so far as foundations can tell their tale of an elaborate XIIIth century structure, the ground-plan of the entire Church of the Abbey can declare itself (Cf. Plan). Of the usual cruciform design, it consisted of a nave of eight bays, with north and south aisles, central tower, north and south transepts of four bays, each having three eastern chapels divided from one another by stone partitions (10 in). The Presbytery was of four bays, with north and south processional aisles. To this must be added (1907) a western Porch, or Galilee—one of those porches familiar to students of Cistercian architecture in France, but which apparently were less common to their churches in England.† At

* Item. There be many divers spoils daily done within the said late monastery to a great substance over and above those above-written, but by whom as yet it is unknown. Jan. 4th, 1542. Deposition of Witnesses before the Court of Augmentation.

† Byland, Meaux, Tintern and Fountains.

FIG. 8.



Max Clarke.

DOOR TO SUB-VAULT

Hailes the Galilee did not, as at Fountains, extend across the full width of the west Front; but only so far as to inclose, and act as a beautiful vestibule to, the double Western door. This feature is of especial interest at Hailes, seeing that instead of having been added to the Church in the fourteenth century, it is bonded in, and apparently was part of the main thirteenth century structure. It has, however, been kept white in the Plan, so as better to distinguish it from the west wall of the Church. It may have risen to the base almost of the west window. Between it and the great buttress to the north wall there was probably a priest's room with spiral stair, and perhaps a turret. Several graves (probably of Abbots) once here, were destroyed by draining operations carried out in 1889.* The Western door opening into it was flanked by triple free shafts with bases both of blue lias. There was also a door to the south aisle.

The total length from west to east measured 341 ft., including eastern Chapels; while the interior width of the Nave was 63 ft. and of the Crossing, 140 ft. As vault and roof probably ran from west to east with undiminished height, this provided for good lighting (a feature conspicuously defective in the earlier Cistercian churches), while it gave great dignity to the general outline. This was well exemplified both in Netley and Tintern.

The excavation in 1900 revealed a number of significant evidences as to late thirteenth century alteration and addition, the reason for which will be considered later on.† Perhaps, the principal of these was finding that the walls of the Presbytery aisles had originally extended some 24 ft. beyond the eastern main (or gable), wall; and that, in line with that gable, rose north and south turrets containing spiral stairs. In these aisles themselves were found respectively a footing (S. aisle) and a first course (N. aisle) of projecting piers which must once have carried the cross-arches piercing the gable sides and leading to the five eastern Chapels. It was through these that five of the aforesaid officiating Bishops had passed to and from their respective altars at the feast of Dedication. And that is how the thirteen altars‡ mentioned are to be accounted

* Two of these are to be seen in the Chancel of the Parish Church.

† That is, the *Novum opus*, or added 'Chevet.'

‡ *Ordinatus fuisse predictus episcoporum numerus ad opus consecrandum in nomine Jesu et XII. Apostolorum stabilitum juxta numerum Altarium tunc ibi preparatorum ut snum singulum altare singulis consecraret Episcopus ut ita fieret in celebratione operis sancti decus.* Chron. de Hayles.

for; one in the Nave, before the Pulpitum; three in each transept; the High Altar; and finally, there were the altars of these five eastern Chapels. How these five Chapels became re-built after a new design twenty years later on in the life of Hailes, will be duly recorded.

The Presbytery of four bays, (the western-most narrower than the others), was approached from the monks' quire by the Gradus, or steps, in line with the eastern piers of the central tower. The plinths of two of the south piers were found, one revealing the setting-out lines of the pier it once bore, the other, those of the base. (Cf. Moldings). There were evidences likewise of the stone screen-walls (3 ft. in thickness), usually, but not invariably, present in Cistercian churches dividing the Presbytery from its aisles; but in the opinion of Mr H. Brakspear, who likewise measured and drew them at the time of excavation, these had here been later additions. It seems strange that they should not have occurred in the 1251 Church. But there may at first have been wooden instead of stone ones. Portions of ribs, both those of the aisle-vaults and the main vault were also found, together with fragments of carven bosses belonging to the intersections of the diagonal and transverse ribs.

The westernmost bay of the south Presbytery aisle disclosed remains of a small lavatory, with a bowl and a drain running westward* beside the pier of the tower. In the third bay on the same side, the screen-wall had been made stouter by some inches than its fellows, presumably to accommodate the piscina and sedilia, for the Abbot and Prior. Beyond the westernmost piers (or first bay), on the north side, partly under tiles (17 in site) bearing the early (XIII. century) De Stafford (?) Chevron, there is a tomb, in which lay, face downwards, the skeleton of a tall man. The femur measured seventeen inches. Manifestly, the plunderers of the Abbey had been there and ransacked it. In the third bay, on the same side, lay (in site), patches of tiles of the same early date (? 1270-80) bearing 'vairy,' within a lozenge-bordure charged with rectangular spots (? nailheads) perhaps for De Ferrers; also numbers showing a gyronny of eight, within a similar bordure. In the fourth Presbytery bay, the tiles became more continuous (especially on the north side), and these all bear the eagle of Richard (Fig. 2, No. 3), Earl of Cornwall, the Founder, as King of the Romans. Hence, we may conclude that his tomb stood near by, *i.e.*, that 'Goodly Pyramis,'

* As at Fountains and Roche.

which his third wife, Beatrice von Falkenstein, is related to have put up to his memory. This is rendered the more probable because, passing into the adjoining, or last, bay, north of the Shrine, the tiles (here much more numerous and evidencing a central processional path), bear the paly of eight, for Sanchia (of Provence) his second wife.* But no trace of their tombs remained here, saving some fragments of tabernacle work.

Of the High Altar the foundations only were found. In front of it, a little way, where (according to certain of the Chronicles)† the bones of the murdered Henry of Almaine were laid to rest (15th May, 1271), the excavators came upon large splashes of melted lead and burned stones, followed immediately by the finding of a stone bason two feet in diameter, resembling a plain font, and containing more melted lead. This (in Mr St. John Hope's opinion), belonged to a cupellation-furnace and betokened the mischievous work of the King's Commissioners, who, by aid of such an apparatus, extracted the silver from the roof-lead of the Abbeys for enriching the Royal mint. At two feet westward of this object were found some fragments of bone and an iron handle. All these lay in the median line, or axis, of the Church. With them were found (August, 1900) many fragments of painted XIII. C. glass, displaying lobed trefoils on a ground filled in with cross-hatching.‡

The monks' quire could be easily traced between the two western piers of the tower extending towards the Presbytery, and, on the other hand, westward, as far as to fill the first bay of the Nave, across which stood its stone screen. According to the computation of Mr Brakspear, room was allowed for fifteen stalls on either side, together with three facing east upon each side the quire door, or thirty-six in all; *i.e.*, rather more accommodation than was needed for the number of monks who were usually here. For the novices, there were rows of seats facing each other below and in front of these, the site of which was indicated by paths of lozenge-tiles bearing a fret (non-heraldic), and flanked in by long border-tiles of Anjou-Castile, like those shown in Fig. 3.

* 1261. Nonis Novembris Senthia Regina Alamannie apud Berkhamstede infirmabatur et quinto die idus ejusdem mensis obiit ibidem, et septimo decimo Kalendas Decembris apud Heyles sepulta est. MS. Harl. 3725. fol. 12.

† The Chron. de Hayles merely says, "ossa vero ejus omnia delata fuerunt in Angliam, et demum apud Heiles honorifice tumulata." Cleop. D. III, fol. 45.

‡ Most of these horny pieces with undulant surfaces show granular decay, being often pitted with separate or confluent spots.

The north transept, four bays in length, was pierced by a door under its north gable. This led to the monks' cemetery, and to the Parish Church. Its west wall footing is nearly eight feet in thickness, while between its last buttresses there stood a paved office of some kind, perhaps connected with the cemetery. A similar office (perhaps connected with registration of the Pilgrims to the Shrine), occupied the corresponding position between the buttresses upon the eastern face of this transept. The three Chapels, raised a step above the main floor of the transept, occupied the eastern side of it, and stood in line with the first bay of the Presbytery.

The two western piers of the supposed central tower* had been strengthened at their western bases with semi-circular adjuncts grooved so as to fit to the original filleted responds. That of the southernmost pier remained in site. Possibly the entire arches of this eighth bay were coarsened in like manner so as to resist the strain.† Mr Brakspear, in his valuable notes, cites a similar example at Christchurch, Canterbury. (Cf. Transs. Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc., 1901, p. 130). At the east end of the south aisle remains in site, but incomplete, the compound respond of the vaulting-shafts for the cross-arch. (Cf. Fig. 4, No. 1). From this to the drum of the first vaulting-shaft of the eastern Chevet measures 116 feet.

Within the west wall behind the angle shaft (N.W.) of the south transept, descended the night-stair from a passage from the Dorter to the Church.‡ This is clean gone; but the thickness of the wall (8 ft.) and the tiles found there in site, many of them charged with Chequy (De Warrenne, Fig. 2, No. 4) assure us that such was the arrangement. This fashion likewise obtained in the refectory and transept at Beaulieu. The south and east walls of this transept at Hailes have been destroyed down to the foundations; but there was doubtless a door in the wall on the south, to the Sacristy and Armarium. Near the junction of the south transept and Presbytery aisle were met the remains of a late XIII. C. effigy of a knight, including the sword-hand, portions of the fore-arm; the ancle and spur of one foot, three pieces of a shield having a bordure of bezants

* Since documentary evidence lets us know that Hailes possessed five bells in its tower, we may infer that the tower was situated at this point, *i.e.*, the crossing; but the evidence was slight.

† The writer has since found portions of other members.

‡ From the slender character of the pillars carrying the vault of the Chapter House, it seems improbable that the Dorter can have been carried over it.

and the base of it bearing portions of the foot of a lion for Cornwall. With these were also found portions, in finer stone, of the hands of a lady's effigy, of good workmanship. All of these bore traces of ground-colour. Whether the effigy had belonged to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (d. 1300) or to his brother Sir Richard de Cornwall, killed at Berwick, 1296, there is nothing to show.

The Processional Doorway (Fig. 16) from the Cloister has severely suffered although its original arch serves it still, and its jamb-shaft bases are in site. A long draw-bar-hole runs from it to the angle of transept. The vaulting-shaft west of this door (within the Church) has been inserted and re-built. Before reaching the next respond the stone-bench appears duly in site; and the stone screen of a chapel has here crossed the aisle from the vaulting-shaft. Between the piers of this bay was found a tomb containing the remains of two individuals, with abundant fragments of fourteenth century tabernacle-work of finest oolite, much resembling 'Clunch,' with numerous tiles bearing the Beauchamp fess between six crosses-crosslet. A similar chapel (and corresponding tomb), occupied the next bay, revealing also the foundations of its altar, together with more tabernacle-work in a rather browner stone and rather less delicately handled. After the seventh, and last, vaulting-shaft base, which, like the third, varies slightly from its fellows, though of the original work, we reach the door to the West Cloister walk.

In the westernmost bay are seen XV. C. inserted bases of door-jambs to Cloister. At this point began the excavations of 1899. West of this (occupying the extreme S.W. angle of the Church) occurs the moulded jamb of the door leading to the night-stair of Cellarium. In the west wall of the Church remains one splayed and broached member of the Cellarium door to the south aisle.

As before-mentioned, the great or Western door to the nave was probably composed of two sub-arches under a richly-moulded obtuse arch carried on triple jamb-shafts of blue lias, the label ending in bosses of conventional foliage, of which several fragments were found outside in the Galilee (1907).

The design of the foundation of the northern portion of the Galilee suggests a turret and stair. As at Beaulieu, a western buttress here, at its northern extremity, makes an eccentric projection. Opposite this, and in site, were found cut stones apparently representing the mouth of a circular surface-well, or drain-hole for a water-shoot.

The fifth and sixth bays of the north aisle were found to have

been occupied by chapels corresponding to those noticed in the opposite aisle.

Between the sixth pair of main piers ran a stone screen, bearing the rood, mid-west of which stood the altar. East of it (used by the invalided monks*), the retro-quire filled rather more than one bay, and was followed by the stone-screens of the Pulpitum, both perforated so as to give central access to the quire.

Even exclusive of the *Novum Opus*, or Chevet (imitated directly from Westminster, and added in 1271 to the east end), the Church differed considerably from that of Beaulieu. At Hailes the quire, pulpitum, and retro-quire, are thrown forward two bays further west than at the mother church, which, moreover, was longer by one bay in the nave than was Hailes.

Such, then, appear to have been the arrangements of the original Abbey Church here during the first twenty years of its existence—standing resplendent in fresh Cotteswold stone, with tower, subsidiary turrets, and long unbroken roof-ridge, all together set out in the green field of Hailes, but closely-screened by a proud theatre of hills from all who approached it from the East, until, reaching the escarpment above Coscombe or Farmcote, the Abbey must have broken with abounding beauty upon their desirous gaze.

The arcade of the ten-bay'd Cloister (of which but three inner arches remain at its south-west angle), was entirely rebuilt early in Henry the Seventh's reign (Fig. 5). Besides the south-west, its north-west angle-base was found in site, and is here shewn (Fig. 23, No. 2). Various other fifteenth century alterations and insertions will be noticed around the Cloisters. The north wall retains part of its stone seat, and three out of five early English recesses (Fig. 17, 2), the purpose of which (according to the excavators of Beaulieu), is thought to have been to reduce the mass of the Church-wall. At Hailes, these are less numerous and less capacious than at the mother-church, and moreover, they present no such plain appearance, having jamb-shafts, caps, and moulded arches, to adorn them, as if for some more functional purpose, and they appear to have been panelled with wood. The restorers in the fifteenth century partly ruined the original effect of these recesses by inserting among them the corbels of their new arcade of bays. (Fig. 17, No. 1). This north walk formed the living-room of the monks, and its inner arcade to the central garth was doubtless furnished with carrels. The Cloister measures 129 ft. N.-S. by 132 ft. E.-W.

* Those not in the Infirmary.

FIG. 9.



Max Clarke.

DOOR TO PARLOUR AND PASSAGE TO INFIRMARY

CELLARIUM

The Cellarer's building (Cellarium of the 'Consuetudines'), or house of the lay-brothers, in the early days, and that of the Abbots here after the fourteenth century, has been so far demolished in relatively modern times, that its bare dimensions and some of its moldings alone can be declared from the excavations. It was a lofty many-gabled building, two bays in width (38 ft.), and extending (N.—S.) for 156 feet, supported on parallel stone-vaulted alleys (undercroft, once the frater of the lay-brethren), carried by engaged E.E. vaulting-shafts and central compound pillars. It projected 27 feet westward of the West Front line of the adjoining Abbey Church. To the extreme west of the south aisle of the latter, however, it had access by a door at the bottom of the night-stair, by which the lay-brother descended to keep the night-office in his own quire. It was entered from the cloister by a small door (day-stair door) in the northern-most bay of the west walk, and by a larger richly-molded (E.E.) door midmost the same walk, the entire molded base of one jamb of which, and part of a step, is in site. (Cf. Fig. 22 Moldings). This latter door gave access to a vaulted passage of two bays, dividing the building into two unequal portions. The western wall measured 6 ft. 6 ins. and the eastern, 4 ft. 6 ins. The upper floor, reached by a spiral vise at the northern end, was originally occupied entirely by the lay-brothers' Dormitory. The south wall still preserves the recess at the end of its eastern alley, with the sills of a three-light window (to Frater, or dining-hall of the *Conversi*), altered in the fifteenth century to one with two lights. This change was effected at a period when the building had been appropriated to the Abbot, and when lay-brothers had long given place to hired servants. Possibly much of the Cellarium was then become devoted to guest-accommodation and store-rooms. Its windows looked west and east (into the cloister). The *rere-dorter* to the Cellarium at Beaulieu, and elsewhere, formed a continuation in line of the main building. At Hailes, it would seem to have subtended (as at Fountains) westwards. No trace of it, or of the Lay-Infirmarium, remains above ground. What was left of the Cellarium, or Abbot's House, at the dissolution became, soon after, the country seat of the Andrews, Hodgkins, Hobys, and, lastly, of the Traceys, and as such it is shewn in the eighteenth century views by Kip and Buck. About thirty years back an attempted search hereabouts for a legendary golden coffin, did no little havoc, destructive of valuable evidences.

The Conversus, or lay-brother who occupied this portion in early days of the convent, was 'laicus,' not 'clericus,' albeit he took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and he could not even become a monk. He was governed by an 'obedientiarius,' or elected official, responsible to the Cellarer. The last-named, however, was himself a monk, and was subject, as such, to the Abbot, or constitutional ruler of the Monastery. The Conversus, if he did not already know them, might not even be instructed in letters; but he committed a few prayers and responses to memory. His place in the Abbey Church was situated in the western portion, remote from the Presbytery. His duties in the Abbey itself were for the most part menial. He attended his own Chapter; and, if sick, he went to his own infirmary. Besides working in the work-rooms of the Cellarium, he laboured outside in the various outlying Granges of Hailes, at Wormington, and elsewhere. He was liable to punishment for transgressing any of the many and complicated rules which, on joining the Order, he had bound himself to obey. As to making his confession, he was bound just as was the monk. He was likewise enjoined to keep silence both at meals and in dormitory, or, in default, to suffer curtailment in his food. More serious offences were visited upon him likewise with the rod or rope-end, or else with confinement in a cell, or in the Infirmary's 'lying-house'; or, if it existed at Hailes, perhaps in a small chamber placed behind (E.) the Chapter House. On the plaster of a certain cell at Fountains a prisoner has scratched, "Vale libertas" (Cf. Cistercian Statutes, Yorkshire Archeol. & Topog. Journal, vol 10, p. 221, note 82. Rev. J. T. Fowler, M.A.) The lay-brother was bled from four to six times a year, like the monk, and he was forbidden to wash his head without leave.

The Cellarer's office was as important in the temporal affairs of the Convent, as that of the Prior in spiritual concerns. He took his meals at the Prior's table in the Frater; his duty was to procure all stores that were needful, and he had charge of all the servants. Both refectories and both infirmaries were dependent upon him and his sub-cellarer, not merely for their food-supplies, but for fuel, candles, etc. His junior, or sub-cellarer, kept his keys, and a 'granator' looked after the supplies of cereals and dealt with the millers and bakers.

For dress the Conversus wore a cap, tunic, drawers, gaiters, shoes, and a hood falling over the shoulders and breast. He might possess four tunics (shirts). There was a Taylor-monk, or

'*Monachus Vestiarius*,' who was excused from certain usual duties, on account of the department of clothing over which he presided. He prepared the dresses of the novices, and undertook all necessary repairs. He likewise negotiated, when needful, with clothiers, tanners, tailors and shoemakers.

The dress of the monk, on the other hand, was a habit of white (or undyed) woollen, with a hood of the same, together with an under-tunic and shoes. Gaiters were worn in cold weather. While officiating, no dalmatic or cope was permitted in the stricter days of this Order. The chasuble was to be of fustian or white linen. (*Exordium Cisterciensis Constit. et Consuet. Eccles. Off. C. LV. p. 152*). A thirteenth century burglary which will be noticed in place includes Chasubles among the articles plundered from the Sacristy at Hailes.

COQUINA, OR KITCHEN

The space between the Cellarium and the great Refectory, or Frater, of the monks (59 ft. by 20 ft.) was occupied by kitchens and larders for the lay-brethren, and for the monks; from which respectively, west and east, the viands were despatched to the two refectories through service-doors. The kitchen for the lay-brothers has undergone complete transformation for domestic purposes in the later period of the monastery, including a renewed partition-wall of masonry dividing the above space into two portions, and leaving the further, or monks' kitchen, an office 32 ft. by 33 ft. (as usual nearly square) which doubtless has served for a kitchen down to perhaps 1700 A.D.

Outside it, on the south, extended a long yard, probably with openings from its now vanished wall, and perhaps a woodhouse for fuel. On the north, it was entered by a door from the south cloister-walk, the eastward jamb of which is gone. Few of the courses of this north wall of the kitchen are the original ones, except in the last ten feet eastward toward the Frater.

The fireplaces here were two in number, and were placed side by side, furnished with projecting jambs and hoods, at seventeen feet distance from (and parallel to) the north wall. One of these was found in August, 1907, with, beside it, a mass of burned ashes. Some feet to the rear of these fireplaces (and but seven feet distant from the Frater wall), is a rectangular stone sink in site, having a brick channel leading from it (N). Of the vaulting there is no trace remaining, nor of the various lockers. The eighteenth century Views (of Kip and Buck q. v.), however, give us the elevation of

this building, as it survived to the time of the latest Tracy residents here. In Buck's view (1732) the east wall of the kitchen is shown with an upper floor having a door towards the Frater closed by 'filling-in'; the Frater having then entirely disappeared, saving its lower north wall (door and lockers). Moreover, the kitchen is shewn extended so as to have covered over a portion of the cloister-walk.

The Cellarium's serving-hatch has been converted into a late XVI. C. door having shallow-pannelled-out jambs. That to the monks' Frater may, from appearances of a projection low down on the north face of the opening, have possessed a shelved turn-table.

THE FRATER (O. Fr. Fraitur)

The Frater (or dining-hall) at Hailes is situated in the usual Cistercian position, at right angles to the South Cloister. It measured 116 ft. in length by 29 ft. 9 ins.—proportions falling rather short of those of Beaulieu, now the Parish Church there (*i.e.*, 130 ft. by 30 ft.) It does not deflect from its right-angle to the Cloister, but so much of it has been destroyed that its original features cannot be vouched for, saving the fine early English double-door, into which however, has been laboriously inserted a debased wicket, regardless of symmetry. (Fig. 6). The former measures nine feet in width, and, as the caps on its cloister (or N.) face show, it was originally enriched with two free shafts of blue lias, between three engaged ones of oolite, and with one deep overhead member decorated with elaborately-undercut dog-tooth leafage. The label has suffered doubly, from breakage and from deliberate shaving off, so that its exact molding cannot be traced. The door-mold is given in Fig. 22 of Moldings. The left (or E.) jamb underwent drastic transformation in the fifteenth century, in connection probably with the re-building of the adjoining lavatory. It now presents a solid jamb of splayed ashlar-work, above which, however, have been retained surviving caps of the vanished E.E. shafts.

Excavation has shown that the Frater must have been destroyed by a fire in the XV. C., and that it was afterwards restored in a poorer style. But only the footing-courses together with fragmentary buttress-bases, remain, even of this rebuild. At the south end,* nevertheless, the conflagration may have been stayed. The presence there (not in site, however), of blue lias shafts ($4\frac{1}{8}$ inch

* Afterwards built over by the later owners, with stables and offices.

FIG. 10.



Max Clarke,

CHAPTER-HOUSE ARCHES (LOOKING WEST).



Max Clarke,

RECESSES IN CLOISTER-WALL.

diameter) probably relates to early English windows, or more probably to their rear-arches. At this end also were found many arch-moldings (Cf. Fig. of Moldings). The south wall of the Frater is 5 ft. 8 ins. in thickness. Probably (like the subvault to the Dorter), it was lighted at this end by two splayed lancet windows. At the northern end it was lighted by tall lancets from the Cloister. (See Buck's View.) Externally, the east wall is furnished with square buttresses 16 feet apart. On the west wall no trace of the pulpit, or of the stair to it, was met with. Near to the door from the Cloister was found (not in site) the fine early English quatrefoil cap of blue lias. This is now seen in the Lavatory.

The service-door to the kitchen occupied the usual position, and consisted of a four-foot splayed opening down to the floor.*

In the north wall, next it, occurs a deep double-cupboard, the two portions being of unequal dimensions. Within them runs a continuous groove for a shelf. The iron pins for the wooden doors to these cupboards can be traced still. Beyond the easternmost of these is embedded a small reeded Norman cap, having served here as mere building-material. This may have belonged to the parish church until alterations there early in the fourteenth century, or it may have come from the long-demolished castle.† East of the Frater door, besides a trefoil-headed cupboard (2 ft. deep), are seen four much smaller ones in a line flush with the wall-surface, and carven in a single block of ashlar. These were for the drinking vessels, knives, etc. A lavatory sink can be traced just beyond them.

It is probable, therefore, that a considerable section of the Frater at this north end was partitioned off with screens for the service of the Refectorer (Pantry). The floor and step being obliterated, it is not possible to prove the point. It is likewise probable that down the centre of the entire Hall, parting it into two unvaulted bays (of 14 ft. 10 ins. each), ran an arcade upon stone pillars, ending north and south upon stout corbels. In English Cistercian Fraters the roof was of timber, having high gables.

* It is manifest that twenty-two (or even fifty) monks, with their Abbot, would be relatively lost in so large a dining-hall; moreover, the food at the Abbot's table on the dais across the south end, would be somewhat cooled long before it reached its destination.

* See ante (Kitchen.)

† East of the cottages beyond the Church of Hailes.

It is needful to recollect that there must in prosperous days, at least, have been numerous novices at Hailes. Favoured guests were also often present there. But it seems likely that this Frater never again, (unless on the occasion of the visit of King Edward I. in 1301) was filled with such an illustrious assembly as that already noticed by Matthew Paris in 1251, at the Dedication, unless it was upon Palm Sunday in 1258, when Richard and Sanchia came again to Hailes as King and Queen of the Romans.

As remarked already, all trace of the reading-pulpit and stairs to it in the west wall have disappeared.

THE LAVATORY

The Lavatory (Fig. 7, No. 1) with its lavabo occurs at Hailes between the door of the Frater and that of the Warming-Parlour (Calefactorium). A few traces of the original or early English one remain in the wall above. It may have been destroyed in a conflagration in the fifteenth century after which the present one was built in place of it. It consists of one open (18 ft. 6 ins.) segmental arch with pannelled soffit and sides recessed into the walls of both the Warming Parlour and the Frater. It was supplied with a row of taps from a pipe, which played into a long stone trough, the semicircular groove to retain which is well seen at the east end of it. To the left of the centre, from the north face of the arch, remains in site a corbel, or springer, for the inserted XV. C. cloister-vaulting. In certain Cistercian Abbeys the Lavatory, like that at Gloucester, and at Mellifont, was placed in the opposite, or Cloister, wall. At Fountains, it is divided into two sections by the entrance to the Frater. The lowness of the trough at Hailes suggests the convenience for the 'mandatum' or Saturday washing of feet. (Cf. Fountains Abbey, by W. H. S. Hope, p. 93). The drain runs out direct from beneath it to the Cloister.

As the rear wall in 1899 was found to have been perforated by cattle, much imperilling the whole arch, the vaulting-ribs met with in abundance while exploring the Chapter-House site were utilised to secure it against further damage. Hence the peculiar appearance of a ribbed rear-wall. At the same time the wild growth of all kinds was largely removed, including at the same time an old ash tree which had grown from, and had entirely enveloped the neighbouring Day-stair to the Dorter (Dormitorium).*

* For these services thanks are due to the Directors of the Economic Insurance Co., who readily granted their permission.

THE WARMING-PARLOUR (CALEFACTORIUM)

This chamber was entered by the trefoil-headed (1271-6) door inserted beneath a semicircular filleted E.E. label, (so favoured here), and was a vaulted room of two (14 ft. 8 ins.) bays, having a wide hooded fireplace in the mid-west wall and a dark oblong recess (6 ft. deep by 13 ft. wide), at the opposite, or east, end. From the latter a door (3 ft. wide) communicated under the day-stairs to the Dorter, with the sub-vault of the latter. This recess was lit on the south by a small squint-light, rebated for a shutter* from the yard (originally) beyond the south wall. In the latter there was probably a door, likewise opening to the yard. [Cf. Plan.]

Of the fireplace (9 ft. wide) one base (N.) of a moulded jamb survives, and much of its rear-wall is discoloured by fire. Bases of the early English angle-vaulting-shafts, and springers (N.), remain in site. Situated, as it was, between the warming-parlour and the kitchen, the Frater (had it not been so long a room with three sides to the air, and numerous windows), might have been a warm one, saving at the Abbot's (or South) end. However, it stood on the south side of the Cloister, and while sheltered from the north wind by the Church, was equally sheltered from the east by the lofty woodland ridge above Farmcote and Coscombe.

In the western section of the north wall of the warming-parlour is a large cupboard, once bisected by a mullion into two pointed heads. The entire wall-face, on this side, together with the door to the Cloister, has undergone serious refilling in the restoration after the first fire, in 1270.

The drainage from the upper floor and roof poured down between heavy buttresses on the south wall, and was carried off immediately into the great culvert beyond this, running nearly parallel to it, but nevertheless, in its latest edition, showing a decided dip to the north-west. In late days of the Abbey it seems evident that 'necessaria' were located here, suggesting that the Rere-Dorter may have been one of the collapsed buildings referred to in the Papal Indulgence.

The monks were permitted to use the warming-parlour at stated times, and to dry their garments there. In some Cistercian convents, as at Rievaulx, there were two fireplaces set opposite to one another in it. At Fountains they were set side by side in the east wall. At Tintern, on the other hand, the hearth was placed in the

* The pin is in site.

centre. This illustrates varieties of detail-treatment in the Abbeys of this Order. It is, therefore, not always so safe as is sometimes imagined to be, to draw general conclusions from given examples, in dealing with things Cistercian.

CULVERT

The culvert was found in June, 1907, at a depth of 5 ft. 6 ins. Its own depth is 4 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 6 in. wide, and it ran at a distance of ten feet southward and, as stated, not parallel to the Warming-parlour, where it made its appearance from under the Dormitory and Rere-dorter, east of that, on its way to pass under the Frater and rear of the Kitchen to the Rere-dorter of the Converse. At its exposed section it has been so restored and made especial use of in late days, that it does not present a fine appearance. The opening made (and left) here shows an open section of the culvert between what have been two late arches (XV. C.) That on the east side has been partly exchanged for one large flat stone. Neither of the side-walls are bonded in, and, altogether, it may be considered certain that the western section of the original culvert did not flow quite so far north as does this later version of it. Hence the earlier one ran more in line with the eastern section in front of the E.E. reredorter (*i.e.*, east of the sub-vault). In it were found a silver penny of Edward I, together with pieces of deer's horn, and some fifteenth century pottery.

DORTER-SUBVAULT (O. F. Dortoir).

The day-stairs to the Dorter have been already mentioned as leaving the Cloister at its south-eastern angle by a chamfered segmental arch. The start of these, as well as the spring of the archway which covered it, and a few stairs, are all that survive. Nearly fourteen generations of white monks passed up and down these stairs to their vanished dormitory. Over the arch was probably a window throwing light into the vaulted passage leading upward. By these same stairs would have been gained the chamber above the Warming parlour as well as the Dorter itself. A window may have also lit the landing with a south light.

The subvault was entered from the last bay but one of the east Cloister walk by an E.E. round-labelled doorway, having angle-shafts on its west face. (Fig. 8) An ugly inserted splay strengthens it on the east. It was a vaulted chamber 89 feet in length, or six bays (of 14 ft. 10 ins.), by 28 ft. 8 ins., or divided into two bays (14 ft. 4 ins.), by a row of pillars down the centre. It thus ran

N.—S., parallel with the start of the day-stair to Dorter on the other (or west), side of its own west wall. In the second bay of this wall occurs a double-cupboard, rebated for doors, and grooved within for shelves. Each cupboard measures 3 ft. 1 in., and is 3 ft. 1½ ins. high. The dividing mullion = 6½ ins. In the next bay is a door, before-mentioned, leading from it into the Warming-parlour, beneath the Dorter stairway. This would seem to strengthen the hypothesis that the sub-vault was used by the novices, who would thus have had their own entrance to the Warming-parlour.

In the further (S.) portion of the next, or fourth bay, the wall gives out in a bold splay, and now, apparently, forms the north end of a recess (five feet in depth) leading to a sharp angle, where, taking up again for three feet, it ends in a small revet, doubtless the jamb of an original doorway from a yard (W.) without. Unfortunately the corresponding jamb has disappeared with (if we except a somewhat mutilated buttress), all the remaining west wall of the two southernmost bays of the subvault. Probably there corresponded to this door a similar one in the opposite (or east) wall of the subvault, forming a passage leading out into the open court or space immediately east of the subvault and at north of the rere-dorter. The stone culvert from the rere-dorter runs diagonally beneath the next or penultimate bay. Extensive and destructive alterations, both in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and probably in the seventeenth, centuries have been made here, the exact purpose of which it is now somewhat hard to decipher. The last (or S.W.) base of a six-inch vaulting shaft is in site in its angle backed by a projecting revet from the south wall, behind which commences a long, but not original, recess bearing white plaster upon its wall. This recess is formed, on its west side, by a five-foot XV. C. wall, starting from the last western buttress of the subvault, and extending for 7 ft. 7 ins. to the north. At this point it turns sharply (W.) so as to form a fresh (ten-foot) recess backed by a two-foot wall which is seven feet in length. Besides this last wall (east of it), occurs a well-formed water-shoot descending to the culvert. The north and west faces of the south-western buttress of the subvault have been reduced roughly for some not-precisely-determinable purpose. All these changes belong to the fifteenth century. (Cf. Plan). Among objects found occurred half of the rod of a gypciere, or purse, of bronze inlaid with silver (niello-work); in addition some miniature fragments of open-traceried panels in

lead. These were probably gilded, and applied in continuous lines of decoration (perhaps over velvet, or silk) along the plinths or cornices of precious boxes and metal desks. (Fig. 23, 1).

The two southern buttresses of the Subvault, with remains of their plinths, are still in site. The sills and rebates of two long early English splayed, but unmolded windows, one to each bay, and placed six feet apart, are preserved. Next the western one, within (*i.e.*, between it and the vaulting-shaft base), is found a small recess, or cupboard. Unfortunately, some fine ash trees preclude further interior exploration at this end of the subvault. An interesting find beneath the cupboard in the soil was a complete copper candlestick, here figured (Fig. 18, 2), which Mr A. Hartshorne is able to date to (circa) A.D. 1480. It should be mentioned that the XVIII. C. prints show that there were post-Reformation domestic-offices built against (or in front of), the south-west end of the subvault.

On the east side of the subvault a broached buttress-footing projects opposite the first (or north) bay. In the wall of the second bay occurs a splayed door. Outside the third bay the footings of two early walls eight feet apart, and with a paven floor between them, extend for a few feet eastward, but there give out. Probably these represent the site of some early destroyed building. Here was perhaps the Infirmary Court, as some foreign examples show. From the east wall (much demolished) at the fifth bay (S.) the rere-dorter (*Dormitorii necessaria*), a building (E.E. 73 ft. 6 ins. in length, in five vaulted bays 14 ft. 6 ins. wide), connected the subvault with another building. In front (S.) of it runs the great culvert, or drain, supplied from the large fishponds adjacent to the south-east.

The north wall of the subvault, saving a few feet of it against the start of the Parlour,* has been destroyed.

The latter passage opens from the Cloister at the third bay of the east walk, by an interesting, but inserted, cinquefoil-headed early English door. Beneath the molded semi-circular (and original E.E.) label on the west face of this, has been inserted (so as to spring from the early jamb-shafts), a XV. C. segmental molded arch; the gaps between the two arches have been filled up with broken sections of slender E.E. shafts. From the segmental arch, in turn, sprang (from an inserted corbel) vaulting ribs of the rebuilt (or XV. C.), Cloister of unequal bays. The cinquefoil arch, as

* Locutorium.

FIG. 11.



St. C. B.

CHAPTER-HOUSE.



St. C. B.

CHAPTER-HOUSE. 1899-1900

stated, is itself an insertion of late XIII. C. date, probably a restoration after the fire of 1270 A.D. It is, therefore, by the same handicraftsman as the trefoil headed insertion in the Warming-parlour door close by. Within, the passage still preserves on both sides remains of the stone bench, but no tiles. The Chapter-House wall, which formed its northern side, has well-nigh disappeared, but its lowest course was followed inside, during the 1899-1900 exploration, to its internal angle by Canon Bazeley and the writer. Of the Infirmary passage, presently.

As at Beaulieu, and at Jervaulx, the beginning of this passage joined the ' Auditorium,' or parlour, where at stated times, silence might be broken.

CHAPTER-HOUSE

This was entered through a double doorway (11 ft. 5 ins.) with tracery above it, the centre one of three finely-molded E.E. arches (corresponding to its own three vaulted alleys) from the fifth bay of the same (E.) walk of the cloister. This doorway was flanked by two molded E.E. openings (10 ft. 11 ins.) the sills of which are in part preserved, though the tracery and jamb-shafts have vanished. These were subdivided in two trefoil-headed openings, as some of the bases in site, made manifest. A hood-mold of later date (? 1271-6) than the original has been inserted above this door.

Within (47 ft. 9 ins. by 35 ft 2 ins.) were found in site four quadri-foolate molded bases of blue lias, with fragments of composite vaulting shafts of the same material. A tri-foolate shaft (corresponding to the southern jamb-shaft of the door opposite to it), was also found rising (where still it does) from the stone bench by the east wall to the left (S.) of a filled up doorway. The bench originally ran round the entire chamber.

The vault was enriched with gilded bosses of elaborate sculpture. (Figs. 12, 13, 14). Six of these were found by Canon Bazeley and the writer almost intact, lying among masses of fallen vaulting ribs, and a seventh had been reduced to many fragments. Remains of an eighth have been located by the writer hard-by. Probably there were nine. One of these was discovered laid deliberately upon two large stones, ready to be deported. The conventional foliage is undercut with extraordinary delicacy. Most remarkable among them all, perhaps, is one (found face downward) representing Samson rending the lion's jaws. (Fig. 13 and 14). Traces of gilding over the red ground were abundant on these bosses at the date of finding.

Here were also found numerous tiles bearing the rebus of Abbot Anthony Melton (1508-1527) and some of Abbot Thomas Stafford (1503-8), besides others bearing a portcullis, for Lord Herbert of Raglan.

Here, daily, at a lectern, was read after Prime, a chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict. In the daily Chapter-assembly misdemeanours and their penalties were methodically recited, and corporal or lighter punishments were thereafter administered. Special prayers in certain cases were said for the culprit. After this, some wise, or aged monk was deputed to look after and, if needful, induce humility in him. Such punishments consisted of blows with rope or rod upon the shoulders. The other not less distressing penalties, such as that for breach of silence, were bread and water, or a portion of coarser-grade bread in the refectory, or the culprit might be ordered to eat when the others had finished their meal. For yet more serious crimes, there was prison; there was also excommunication; or, finally, there was ejection from the Community.

There were found no traces of burials in the Chapter-House, the soil of which was wet clay. Those within the Galilee of the Church (as mentioned already), were destroyed twenty years since, during draining-operations. The lids of two coffins, probably deriving thence, are now to be seen in the Parish Church flanking the altar.

BOOK-CUPBOARD AND VESTRY

Between the Chapter-House and the South Transept extended W-E for (c) 48 feet a chamber of three bays, twelve and a half feet wide, which served, no doubt, as elsewhere, the purpose and capacity of a vestry and communicated with the Church. All but the angle-shafts (W.) and its early English double door from the Cloister (complete until after 1856*) has been demolished. The quatrefoil head of the doorway was found under the Cloister walk in August, 1900. (Fig. 15). The base of blue lias for its central shaft, and part of the latter, are in site. Elaborate means for security in the shape of bar holes, early and late in date, may be noticed in the jambs.

In the former, or original, wall, between this and the Processional door to the Church (now a new dry-wall), may have been situated as at Quarr, Tintern, and elsewhere, the 'Armarium,' or small book-cupboard, fitted with shelves.

Incidentally, a letter of acknowledgment (dated Nov. 4th, 1319), from Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford (Cf. Reg. Orleton

↗ * See Buck's view.

f. XXXIII. a.) for certain books received by him and borrowed from Laurence Bruton, of Chipping Norton, informs us of volumes which may well have been used at Hailes. They are the 'Summa Theologiæ' of Thomas Aquinas, in four volumes; the same Thomas's comment on the fourth book of the 'Sentences'; Anselm's 'Book of Similitudes'; a book of Scolastic History; Aristotle's Rhetoric; Tully's Rhetoric; and a Book of Geometry, with Commentary. All of these the Bishop promises to return to the said Laurence in England, or, in default, their full value, as shall please Brother John (Dene) Abbot of Hailes, (maternal uncle of the said Laurence) as well as the said Laurence. The letter is dated from the Priory of St. Rufus, near Avignon. (Cf. Reg. Adam de Orleton, Cantelupe Society Publication, p. 119).* It is interesting to be able to add that a Richard Bruton, of the same Chipping Norton, was given reservation of a benefice valued at 30 marks, in the gift of the Bishop of Lincoln, at the request of Cardinal Jacopo Colonna, on June 29th, 1317, at Avignon, and also that a concurrent mandate was sent to this Abbot of Hailes, and to two other individuals. (Cf. Cal. Papal Reg. R.S. vol. II., p. 155).

This enables us to place Abbot John Dene as Abbot of Hailes as early as 1317, while other sources give him to us as living in 1323 and onward. The keeper and distributor of the Monastery's books was the Precentor, who kept a register of them and of the manuscripts and charters. He also was general instructor in music.

The Sunday-Procession, starting from this point in the Cloister, marched around it, visiting in turn the previously described offices of the Convent, to the Cellarium in the opposite side. Such were the buildings within the precinct-wall, which had been dedicated by the Bishop of Worcester and the Founder, and King Henry his brother, in November, 1251. The 'Novum Opus,' begun in 1271, after a fire, and the coming of the Holy Blood, together with other later buildings, will be duly noticed. The various and drastic alterations in each of the remaining original doors are to be easily traced in the adjacent walls, and clearly inform us of the great destruction wrought by the said fire. The Dormitory and Calfactory suffered extremely, and their doors were burnt out. It is now time to return to the History of the Convent.

* The writer's acknowledgements for this document are due to the Rev. A. T. Bannister, M.A., Vicar of Ewias Harold.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SHRINE OF THE HOLY BLOOD.

EARL Richard purchased, and, in 1254, transferred to Hailes the manors of Nether Swell, with a park of 140 acres; Great Wormington, with a Grange; Coscombe; Rodbourne (County Wilts), and a pasture in Heath-end (County Worcester). To these possessions, in 1270, the King added a gift of the Fee-Farm of Pinnockshire. (Cf. Pipe Roll. a. 44. Hen. III, m. 2). Hailes, during her first twenty years, was undoubtedly prospering in spite of the tragic troubles of the kingdom culminating hard-by at Evesham in 1265. From that battle the Founder of Hailes was happily absent, being in Kenilworth Castle where he had been imprisoned by his brother-in-law, Simon, the great Earl of Leicester, who had placed him in the custody of his sons. His own son, Henry of Almaine, likewise was absent, being engaged in negotiations at the French Court.

A small quarrel between the Abbot of Hailes and Bartholomew, Lord of Sudeley, concerning common rights and delimitations, had been settled by a perambulation by twelve men of the Fee, of each party, in order to certify to their respective employers the extent of their right respecting the Common-land belonging to the men of Hailes, Piseley, Sudeley and Greet.

This Bartholomew de Sudeley in 1267-8, received at Sudeley Castle Robert de Ferrers,* Earl of Derby, who had been captured by Henry of Almaine at the battle of Chesterfield. The prisoner had been a ward of Queen Eleanor. His mother, Sybil Marshal, had been sister to Henry of Almaine's mother, Isabel. Thus, they were first cousins. The Earl of Derby was actually found hidden away under some sacks of wool and dragged out by the soldiers. The Chronicler says rather vaguely, "perchance this was the occasion of Henry of Almaine's death, for he was the Commander in this victory, and very many of the enemy were slain." (Harl. 3725. f. 13 b). The ransom of the vast estates

* He had in 1263 captured Worcester for the Barons and sacked it.

FIG. 12.



E. Marland.

FOUR BOSSES FROM THE CHAPTER HOUSE

of De Ferrers was fixed at £50,000, and was held by Prince Edmund (Cf. Abbrev. Placit. p. 187). Before the battle at Evesham, Simon de Montfort had imprisoned De Ferrers on account of his violent and shifty conduct. The King now deprived him of his earldom. De Ferrers lived three years at Sudeley, and it seems probable that he died there and may have been buried at Hailes. It is otherwise difficult to account for such numbers (as have been found), of late thirteenth century tiles bearing his family coat-vairy, within a bordure of eight nailheads, also others displaying a gyronny of eight, within a similar bordure.

In 1268 Richard took to himself yet a third wife, this time, the beautiful lady Beatrice von Falkenstein, whose maternal uncle, Archbishop of Cologne, had crowned Richard as King of the Romans.

A serious quarrel arose in 1274 between the Abbot of Hailes with his Convent and the Bishop of Worcester, concerning the parish church of St. George, at Didbrook, which had been granted to the Abbey. The exact nature of the dispute is not clear, but it was carried so far that the Bishop laid his interdict upon Hailes. On the 23rd April, 1275, a mandate was issued to certify the Bishop of the execution of the letters issued for the correction of the Abbot and monks of Hailes. This was enforced by another mandate (3 non. mart.) which mentions the Interdict on the Abbot and his accomplices, and upon all those who should convey bodies from the Church at Didbrook to the Monastery of Hailes for burial. It was removed however on July 11th of the same year.

It has been mentioned in connection with the Abbey Church that Queen Sanchia died at Berkhamstead Manor, Nov. 9th, 1261—the lady at whose wedding-feast at Westminster Hall (Nov. 22nd, 1243) it is said that 30,000 dishes (*i.e.*, a large number), were served to the guests. Her heart was buried in the Presbytery of Cirencester Abbey, while her body was taken by Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, and two Bishops, to Hailes, and solemnly interred in the north Presbytery aisle (Nov. 16),* probably in the presence of her youthful son, Edmund, presently Earl of Cornwall.

In 1270, on Holy Rood Day (Sept. 14th), Edmund, now twenty years of age, brought to Hailes part of a relic of the Holy Blood, which bore the guarantee of Urban IV. (Jacques

* 1261. XVII. Kal. Dec. Sepulta fuit apud Heiles. MS. Chron. of Hayles. Cleop. D. III.

Pantaleone) 1261-64, himself a Cistercian and formerly Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1255-61. It was with great pomp consigned to a shrine (which had been made for it) by the Abbots of Winchcombe (John Yanworth) and Hailes (Walter ———) in Edmund's presence. It had been brought on the previous day as far as Winchcombe Abbey, where it remained guarded by two Cistercian monks. On the following morning a procession was formed, Edmund and the Abbot of Winchcombe heading it, which made for Hailes. The monks of the two Convents met in the field still called 'Rowley,' where a tent and an altar having been raised for the occasion the entire populace of the neighbourhood adored the Relic. The Abbot of Hailes preached an explanatory sermon, and after it, the procession re-formed and with hymn and jubilation carried the sacred treasure to the monastery. (F. 44 b, Chron. de Hayles.) The shrine was (with much probability) placed in the central chapel of the five already described, under the eastern gable of the Church. (Fig. 4).

But, in order to glorify the possession of so potent a relic, as well as to accommodate the probable pilgrims which its fame would be sure to attract, the architects were consulted, with the interesting result that the latter having in mind the new chevet at Westminster as well as the splendid shrine of the Confessor recently re-established therein, it was resolved to imitate the Chevet, or coronet of semi-octagonal chapels thrown out around the head of the Presbytery there. As the same year had witnessed a disastrous conflagration at Hailes, it seems probable that not only the architects and under-masons were on the spot to consult, but the occasion came fittingly to their aid. The translation of the remains of Edward the Confessor, at which Earl Richard with his third wife, Beatrice, assisted, had taken place on Oct. 13th, 1269. From the fact of the choir at Hailes having occupied the first bays of the nave (west of the transepts), it seems even likely that Westminster had already influenced the design of the Gloucestershire monastery—'tam insigne et incomparabile.'

The excavators of 1899-1900 were fortunate enough to lay bare the entire footing and buttressing of this grand work, together with the semi-circular aisle, or processional path, passing in front of the five new chapels; and as the two southernmost chapels (in one of which the writer found a bronze badge or pilgrim-button representing the Martyrdom of St. Edmund)* were better preserved

* See Fig. 23, No. 3.

in the lower courses (as Mr Harold Brakspear* has written, who measured them at the time), "the whole place can be reconstructed. In fact it is not very difficult to imagine its primal beauty." The respective altars had been placed opposite the openings. From the remains found in these it was evident that they had been vaulted with ribs springing from triple wall shafts in each angle, and which met in the centre. Externally to each angle was joined a large buttress. The footings of the buttresses to the central chapel differed from their fellows in being wedge-shaped. "Whether this indicates that the buttresses above (them) followed their lines it is impossible to say, as nothing remains above them." (Cf. *Transactions Br. & Gl. Archl. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV., pt. 1, p. 131). The lowest course of two bases belonging to the piers which carried the apse, in addition to the nearly perfect base of one of these, were found in site, in a line north-east of the angle of the central Shrine, the base of which we were also fortunate enough to find and identify. Some thirty fragments of stained Early English glass from the eastern windows were found here, (June 1-4th, 1900), displaying 'cross-hatching' and conventional trefoils. Tiles, chiefly of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were numerous, many bearing the well-known three-towered castle of Castile and a fleur-de-lis for Anjou.† In the central chapel was found the body of an adult, without the coffin (? plundered). On the 10th of June several other bodies were found in the south aisle of the Presbytery together with the shield and fragments of a knight's effigy, and two hands of that of a lady, before referred to.

THE SHRINE

At forty-two feet from the rear-wall footing of the central chapel, and nearly mid-way between two (N. and S.) pier-footings, came to light a large rectangular base measuring eight feet in breadth, by ten feet long, east to west, for the most of it still standing two feet in height. Could it be possible, after all the destruction and the carting away for other buildings in post-dissolution days, after the pasturing in that field of generations of cattle, that anything could be left of that wondrous Shrine, the very sight of which, Latimer (denouncing it at Bristol) had said the people believed to put them in a state of Salvation? Could it be that after the

* Cf. His plan and description. Vol. XXIV., p. 126, *Trans. B. & Gl. Arch. Soc.*, 1901.

† See Fig. 3.

last Abbot of Hailes, Stephen Sagar, in 1533 (Sept. 23rd) had (possibly in order to curry favour), begged Cromwell "that the case which contained that feigned relic of Christ's Blood, which standeth where it did in the nature of a Shrine, may be put down, every stick and stone, and so no remembrance of that forged relic may remayne there,"—that after this denunciation, the base of it was actually being uncovered in site before our eyes at the close of the nineteenth century?

It was a sensation not to be forgotten by the explorers in that quiet pasture-field—with the ancient wooded hills looking down upon it—to survey close to them on the one side (N.) original XIII. C. pavement formed of the tiles of Richard, Earl of Cornwall King of the Romans, with fragments of tabernacle-work which had belonged to his fine tomb; and on the other side of them, the stone Base which for two hundred and seventy years had carried the rich shrine containing a relic so famous that Leland said of it:—"God daily sheweth miracles through the virtues of that precious Blood." (Cf. Fig. 4).

This Locus Venerabilis had been the *raison-d'être* of the prolongation of the eastern section in order, while glorifying the Church, to accommodate the promised multitudes of sick people and pilgrims who should come thereafter to the spot of healing, and presently, having been shewn the relic and having recited a prayer, leave it. From its position here, the Shrine of the Holy Blood (garnished with jewels and gilded Early English carving, as it had been, and lit by the blending lights of five beautiful traceried chapel windows that rose solemnly around it—as it were an adored centre of holiness) could have been seen 'end-on' over the High Altar and also right down the Presbytery, by the white monks and their novices as they stood and chanted in their choir-stalls—whether in the dim of winter morning on a stormy day, or under the rich blaze when September suffused all things, at High Mass for the Feast of Holy Rood. Nevertheless, even as with Beckett's similarly resplendent Shrine at Canterbury, "from the beginning of its glory, there had been contained in it the seeds of its own destruction" (Cf. Stanley, Canterbury, p. 230).

Very diligently did we (remembering how Rome used of old to send off her pilgrims with models of St. Peter's keys, and Canterbury her pilgrims with brooches displaying a mitred head of St. Thomas), search and sift the ground for some similar token of the Holy Blood, but with small success.

The relic itself (we know from the seals of Hailes, as well as from literary evidences), was contained in a crystal, or glass, bottle, through the sides of which it was viewed by those who paid for the coveted favour, or who desired to obtain remission of punishment hereafter by so doing. (Cf. Fig. 18).

Probably there was placed near the Shrine a table for offerings, upon which waxen torches constantly burned, attended to in turn by the custodians, one a monk, and one a lay brother.

Architecturally (since it must perforce have been oblong), the Shrine above the base probably rose, like other contemporary shrines, from vertical pannelled sides (perhaps covered with plates of enamelled metal), into a crocketed ridge-crest.* More we dare not (in default of any representation of it extant), premise. The base was found to stand a foot out of the centre, toward the north. It is perhaps more likely than not, that on especial feasts the relic was carried by the Abbot in solemn procession to the Galilee and there displayed (during the chanting of a hymn), to the kneeling crowds from the country-side, and then taken back along the aisle to its jewelled shrine.

In front (W) of the Shrine were found, deeply-embedded in debris, important members of the geometrical tracery of a great window. These are now to be seen in one of the (N.) Cloister recesses. (See Fig. 13, No. 2).

* A shrine usually consisted of: (1) A stone base carrying on arches (2) A stone table; (3) A feretory, or main section containing the Relic, often plated with precious metal and enriched with gems, which, except on occasion, was concealed by a wooden covering (4) or Cooperculum, carved and gilded, and raised by rope and pulley.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VITERBO TRAGEDY.

IT must have been while the stately polygonal apse was rising, course upon course, at Hailes, that a blow, almost of a mortal nature, fell upon its founder, Richard, Earl of Cornwall. This was the murder of his son and heir, Henry of Almaine, at Viterbo (variously chronicled as having occurred on the 9th, 12th or 13th of March, 1271), at the hands of Guy and Simon de Montfort (his first-cousins), Aldobrandino, 'Il Rosso,' Count of Anguillara,* and Walter de Baskerville.

Although the ill-fated Prince had not taken part (owing to absence in France at that time), in the great battle of Evesham (1265) the crime was probably intended as a revenge for the ruin of the De Montforts there and their allies, and of the abominable and ferocious treatment of the body of their illustrious father, Simon (the elder) by the Royalist victors, who are related to have cut off the hands and feet, and haled his corpse by the hair up and down the fatal field. One chronicler however suggests that the later battle of Chesterfield, in which Henry of Almaine was victor, was the real cause. Perhaps we should also take into consideration the fact that the lands of the disinherited had been restored in January of the same year, with the exceptions of those of the De Montforts and of the Earl of Derby.

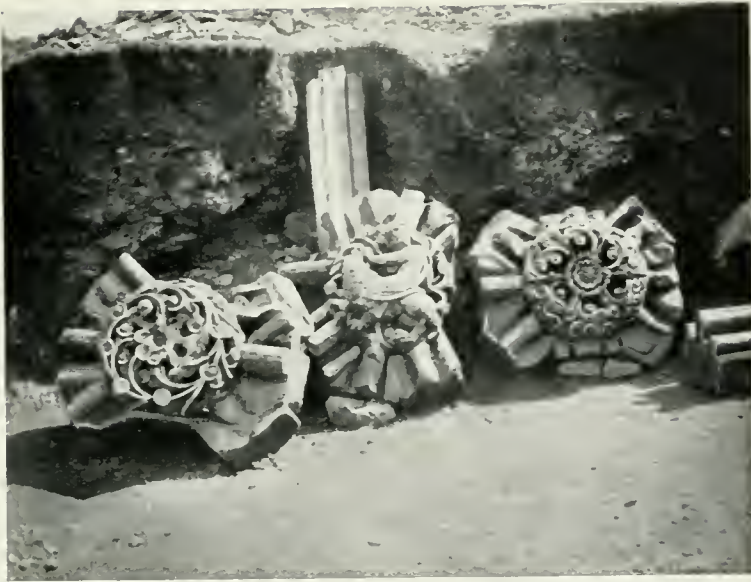
On his way to Venice, for the East, after the collapse of the Crusade, Henry of Almaine, but recently married to the daughter of Gaston de Béarn (a turbulent Gascon vassal of Henry III), accompanied Charles I of Anjou,† King of Naples, and Philip III of France, from Sicily to Viterbo, where the conclave was assembling for the election of a Pontiff to fill the chair vacated by the death of Clement IV. The Prince would seem to have been at his devotions in the parish church of San Sylvestro,‡ (now Il Gesù)

* Whose daughter Guy de Montfort had recently espoused.

† He had joined his cousin Edward in setting forth for Tunis, but upon the death of Louis IX., Edward went on to the Holy Land while Henry returned temporarily to Europe.

‡ In *Ecclesia Sancti Silvestri civitatis predicti*. Flores Histor., p. 22, vol. III.

FIG. 13.



St. C. B.
XIII. C. BOSSES; AND VAULTING-SHAFT OF CHAPTER HOUSE
IN SITE



St. C. B.
A RECESS IN N. WALL TO CLOISTER

doubtless close to the house in which he was lodged (possibly that of Pietro di Vico, the Prefect), which stood hard-by the original 'Municipio' of that city.* At the hour when his royal kinsmen of France were attending mass in the church of San Francesco, Henry was kneeling near the Altar of San Sylvestro. At the moment of 'Elevation' his well-informed assassins, having dismounted at the door of the church, advanced upon him crying out, "Henry, you traitor, you shall not escape us!" whereupon, undeterred by the priests and deacons, who endeavoured to defend the Prince, they struck hard and stabbed him with their swords. Clinging to the altar, four of his fingers were left adhering to it. One of the deacons was slain and others were severely wounded. As the murderers were departing to their horses, someone, by reminding them how shamefully their father's corpse had been treated on the field of Evesham, caused the De Montforts to turn back into the church. Whereupon one or both of them dragged the dead or dying Henry up and down the pavement of the church. Leaving him there in his blood they mounted steed, and, riding away by the Val di Faul, made for the Count of Anguillara's Castle of Soana. This powerful personage, their sister's† husband, was presently cited to appear on the charge of this murder before Pope Gregory X. The De Montforts, fearing the emissaries of their cousin, King Edward, a little later, took refuge in the beautiful Cistercian Abbey of San Galgano (Cf. Fig. 24), twenty-three miles south-west of Siena.

The body of the luckless Henry of Almaine was treated in accordance with the barbarous usage known as divisional sepulture, the origin of which may be attributed to the vicissitudes of the Crusade, which, in order to gratify the families of deceased princes and nobles, as well as to fulfil their own testamentary bequests, permitted their remains to be boiled (generally in wine), and divided up into flesh, bones, and heart, and then dispatched in several portions to the favourite or chosen resting-places of their families. Louis IX (who had recently died of the plague at Tunis), and his brother Tristan, had been treated in this way by their brother

* Not that of to-day.

† Cherchez la Femme! The count married Francesca, dau. of Arcinolfi of Rome, by whom he had Margherita=(1) Guy de Montfort. These had Anastasia=Romanello Orsini, to whom she brought the rich lands of NOLA, CICALA, ATRIPALDO, Forito and BAIANO, all in the Kingdom of Naples, which had been conferred on Guy by Charles of ANJOU. MARGHERITA = (2) a Kinsman, ORSETTO ORSINI.

Charles of Anjou, who had carried portions of their bodies to Palermo and Monreale, and had forwarded the remainders of them to St. Denis. Especial Papal license was all that was required, and by obtaining that the soul of the deceased secured the prayers of several congregations. The reader will easily recall a multitude of examples of the custom. It has lasted (*non obstante*)* until our own day.

In the case under consideration, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, despatched Cistercians from Hailes to bring back to their Abbey Prince Henry's bones. The latter reached London on May 15th, and were interred at Hailes, 'ante majus Altare,' on May 21st. His flesh had been already buried between the tombs of two Popes† in the church of Sta. Maria dei Gradi. His heart, however, was reserved for the Confessor's Shrine at Westminster, where the Abbot consigned it to rest in a cup of gilded silver.‡ This, of course, has long since disappeared.

His connection with Westminster was a very intimate one, and the writer does not recollect to have seen it pointed out. "Whereas Henry de Almaine, the king's nephew, gave by charter to the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, all the land in Westminster, which he had, of the gift of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of Almaine, his father, to be held by the said Abbot and Church for ever, the king, out of devotion to St. Edward and special favour to the said Abbot and Convent, has granted that all the said land and the houses there built, or to be builded, shall be quit of the living of the King and his Marshals, so that no one shall be lodged there without the license of the Abbot and Convent, or their assigns." July 8th, 1270 (Cal. Chart. Rolls, vol. 2, p. 146, m. 2).

This was dated, therefore, but five weeks before Henry left England for the last time (Aug. 15th, 1270), in company with his

* Boniface VIII., to his credit, took up a vigorous policy against the ugly practice, and issued the Bull 'Detestandæ Feritatis abusus,' threatening denial of Christian burial as a punishment. His successors, however, at Avignon, were too greedy of gain to carry it out.

† Cujus caro ibidem sepelitur inter duos Papas.

‡ Cor vero ipsius in cuppa deaurata juxta feretrum sancti Edwardi in ecclesia Westmonasterii honorifice collocatur. (P. 22, vol. III., Flores Historiarum.) At their burials the Cistercians sang, "Subvenite sancti dei occurrere angeli domini suscipientes animam ejus offerentes eam in conspectu altissimi. Suscipiat eam Christus qui vocavit." Then the deceased having been interred and the psalms ended, they said, "Clementissime Domine, qui pro nostra miseria ab impiorum manibus mortis supplicium pertulisti, libera animam ejus de inferni voragine et de Ministris Tartareis. Miserator absolve, et cuncta ejus peccata oblivione perpetua dele eam ad lucem tuam angeli tradant Paradisi."

young wife, Constance de Béarn, whom he had married at Windsor (May 19th) in the previous year. It was his intention to leave her in her native Gascony, and to join Edward, his cousin, for the Crusade, at Aigues Mortes.

It is also worthy of mention here, that with Edward he had become surety for Simon de Montfort the younger (later, his assassin), when the latter had surrendered at Axholme, after Evesham, and became forced to abjure the realm. (*Annal. Waverley*, p. 363, R.S.)

We hear of a funeral mass performed in his memory at Norwich on July 22nd. His father held the Manor of Eye, near there, and he had himself been born (as we have noticed) within that diocese at Haughley (Co. Suff.).

A fresco representing the Viterbo tragedy is recorded to have been painted, with descriptive verses, upon the wall (? of the Church) by order of the citizens of Viterbo. Matthew of Westminster relates that a certain poet, beholding this painting, spoke thus:—*

" Henry, the illustrious offspring of great Richard,
Fair Almaine's king, was treacherously slain,
As well this picture shows, while home returning
From Tripoli, by Royal favour guided ;
Slain in the service of the Cross of Christ
By wicked hands. For scarcely mass was done,
When Leicester's offspring, Guy and Simon fierce,
Pierced his young heart with unrelenting swords.
Thus God did will ; lest if those Barons fierce
Returned, fair England should be quite undone.
This happened in the sad Twelve-hundredth year
And seventieth† of grace, while Charles was king,
And in Viterbo was this brave Prince slain.
I pray the Queen of Heaven to take his soul again."

Another picture, perhaps a tempera-copy (but possibly the retouched remains of the original), was extant in San Sylvestro until within forty years, and Signor Caposalvi, an architect of that city, told the writer many years back (1900) while making researches concerning Hailes, that he, and others still living, well recollected its general appearance.

Simon de Montfort perished by an accident at Siena within a year of the crime, while Guy, who was made Viceroy of Tuscany by Charles of Anjou (an individual suspected strongly of direct complicity in it), had to undergo many severe penances ; but, remaining a favourite commander with his new master, he survived until 1288, when he was captured at sea by the Aragonese-Sicilian

* For the Latin original, see *Flores Historiarum*, p. 22, vol. III.

† Seventy-first.

Commander, Ruggiero di Loria, then fighting against Charles of Naples for the possession of Sicily, in the war of the Vespers. He died miserably, it is related, in a Sicilian prison, in 1288.*

Dante, referring to the notorious crime, describes Guy de Montfort as a lonely spirit plunged up to his very throat in boiling blood, shunned even by other assassins there, "for having pierced in God's bosom the heart which is yet (in Dante's day) venerated beside the Thames." (Cto. XII., 119, *Inferno*.)

Walter de Baskerville became outlawed by Edward I, and when summoned to surrender himself on the charge of the murder, he pleaded that he could not be tried for a deed committed in a foreign land. He recovered his lands from Roger de Clifford in 1278.

A few XIII. C. tiles bearing "an eagle displayed bendwise" have been thought to have represented Henry's arms at Hailes, as son of the King of the Romans. His actual arms are given as—"Or, an eagle displayed sable; armed gules." (Cf. Papworth p. 301.)

Earl† Richard, whose health had been failing, in the September following the murder of his son heard of the partial destruction of Hailes by fire, and gave a thousand marks for the restoration. In December, while at his mansion at Berkhamstead, he was attacked by paralysis, in consequence of which he lingered until the following February (1272) when he died.‡

His heart was bequeathed to the Franciscan Church at Oxford, and his body was transferred to Hailes to be placed in a tomb (as Founder of the Abbey), next the body of Sanchia, who had predeceased him by twenty years (1261). His third wife, Beatrice, said to have been very beautiful, built a noble 'pyramis' there, over his remains, and dying herself in 1277 (Oct. 17th), was buried where his heart already lay at Oxford among the Grey Friars.

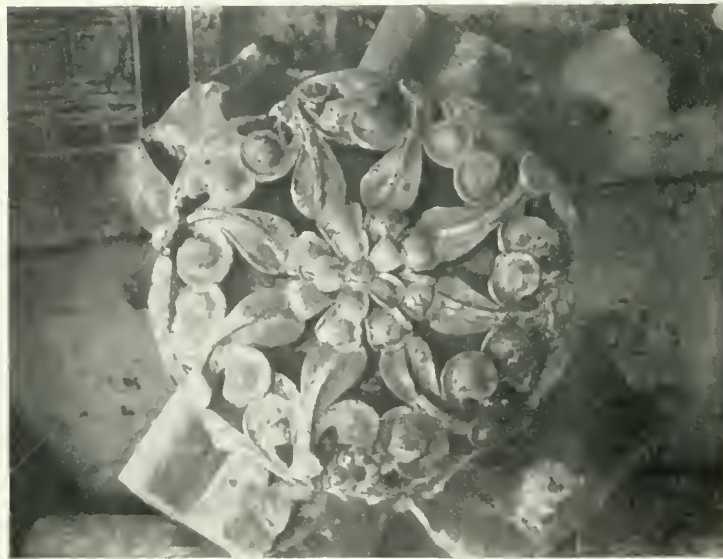
By the death of Henry of Almaine the English honours of Richard descended to Edmund Plantagenet (the eldest of two

* Gregory cited him to appear before him, March 1 and 6, 1272. Guy pleaded excuse that he feared the emissaries of EDWARD I. He was then excommunicated. Later he humbled himself to the Pontiff near Florence, and was mildly incarcerated in the Castle of Lecco, near Como, and pardoned in 1273. Martin IV. made him Commander of the Papal forces, and in 1284 he became Prefect of Orvieto. He was in 1287 at Orbetello.

† His foreign title of king was held in contempt by all but his foreign relatives and the Abbots of his various 'foundations.' His 'semper Augustus' was obviously ridiculous.

‡ The Chron. of Hailes says April 2nd.

FIG. 14.



F. Marsland.

BOSSES, CHAPTER HOUSE.

sons of Sanchia of Provence, his second wife), who now became Earl of Cornwall.

On October 6th, following his father's death, Edmund, aged 22, married a daughter* of Richard and sister of Gilbert de Clare,† Earl of Gloucester, and with her inherited Sundon (Co. Beds)—a manor which his father Richard had once enjoyed with the hand of Isabel, his first wife. He is also called Edmund of Almaine by some chroniclers.

It will be well to place here a brief record of his official career. He was born in December, 1250, and knighted October 13th, 1272—knighthood at that period usually taking place at the age of 21 years. In the following month he became appointed a joint-guardian of the Realm (Nov., 1272—Jan., 1273), a position again accorded him April, 1279, and emphasised later (June 1286—August, 1289), when, during the King's absence, he became sole guardian. From 1278—1300, he was Sheriff of Cornwall, and Sheriff of Rutland from 1288 until his decease. During 1297–8 he acted as councillor to the future Edward II, as Prince of Wales.

* *Qui eam nuncquam carnaliter cognovit.*

† Richard de Clare, d. 1262, buried at Tewkesbury (July 15th.) Gilbert, m. 1290, the Lady Joan Plantagenet, daughter to Edward I; and died 1295, and was buried at Tewkesbury.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY VICISSITUDES OF THE ABBEY. A FIRE. NEW BUILDINGS.
THE RELIC OF THE CROSS. VISIT OF KING EDWARD I.
THE SEAL.

THE advent to the throne of Edward I, who (albeit like his father, a patron of the Benedictines and Cistercians), was above all a warrior and a legislator, gave cause of anxiety to those who presided over the Church and the monasteries, and who represented in England the over-swollen Papal pretensions. Fortunately, the King's firm unmistakeable will, guarded by his sense of right, made it possible for him to assume and retain the mastery of a most difficult situation. For in those days every European monarch, in considering his relationship to the Papacy in home-affairs, had at every turn to weigh and balance his behaviour with a view to its effect on his foreign policy. If, by chance, the relations with the Church and Orders in England required drastic readjustment, it had to be carried through in such a manner as not too seriously to compromise co-operative Papal favour in foreign policy. It was of unusual assistance to Edward that his relations with Gregory X became so intimate at the commencement of both their reigns. The Pope respected Edward all the more for his bitter indignation at the escape under the ægis of Charles of Anjou of the two De Montforts and their accomplices. But this Pontiff did not long survive.

Although called a 'courtesy' gift from the Cistercians to the King in 1276, the sum of one thousand pounds raised by them on their wool was in the nature of a tax from subjects to their temporal lord. The King's necessities naturally became more and more acute with the developments of his policy toward Wales, Scotland, and France. When the Jews could be no more squeezed, the religious Orders were made to feel the pressure. Men recalled the doings of King John in these respects.

Hailes gave Edward £14 13s 4d, a sum exceeding that granted him by Flaxley or Kingswood, the elder Cistercian foundations

in Gloucestershire, or by the sister convents of Netley and Newenham. This fact is of interest as showing the improvement in its affairs since the superior visiting-Abbot, James of Beaulieu, in 1261, had reported to the General Chapter upon its debts, and had forbidden any increase to the numbers of monks or lay-brothers. (Cf. M.S. Reg. XII., E. XIV. 73-4.)

The fire in the year 1271 destroyed the Infirmary and most of the adjacent buildings (including the Dormitory and Warming-parlour), which were presently rebuilt with the money given by Earl Richard for the purpose. In 1270 the then visiting Abbot had complained of the lack of sufficient care for the sick in the Infirmary. But the real source of prosperity was doubtless to derive from the payments made by pilgrims who came to see and adore the Relic. In addition, Edmund, the new Earl of Cornwall, its bringer and establisher, gave to Hailes, the Manor, and advowsons, of the Hospital and Vicarage of Lechlade* for the rent of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) annually, and these were held and enjoyed by Hailes until 1319, being confirmed to it in 1301, by the King's charter. Edmund likewise added the Rectories of St. Breage and St. Paul in Cornwall. The burned portions of the Abbey together with the new work and completed shrine† in the Church, were re-dedicated in 1277 (27th Dec.) under Abbot Hugh I (living 1280), by Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester. (Harl. MS. 3725, fol. 13, v.) The Churches of Hemel-hempstead and Haughley (Co. Suff.) the advowsons of which had been already granted to Hailes, were presently appropriated likewise; the latter, however, only in 1304.‡ The Monastery thus became patron of these attached benefices, and the vicars appointed by Hailes were responsible for the spiritual welfare of their parishes. These vicars were supplied probably by youths educated in the Cloister for the purpose. Incidentally we learn that in 1281 a son of William, Lord Harley, was a monk in the Abbey. In 1290 the Rector of Longbarrow was allowed to let his Church for three years to the

* Cf. Inquis. Post Mortem. Extent of the Manor (No. 69, a. 4, Edw. I. 1275). From this it appears that the widowed Beatrice von Falkenstein, Queen of the Romans (or Germany) had seisin of this manor. In the demesne were 518 acres of arable land, the annual sum of which was £8 12s. 8d.; 667 acres 1½ roods, meadow = £44 9s. 4d., besides pleas, perquisites, rents, heriots and tolls.

† Cum scrinio in quo sanguis Christi preciosissimus reponitur. Chron. de Hayles.

‡ The Abbots of Hailes became Rectors of Northley, Dioc. Lincoln, and Haughley, Co. Suffolk, in addition to Hailes, Didbrook, and Toddington.

Abbot and Convent of Hailes while he was absent for purpose of study.

The new Infirmary (in the usual position south-east of the Chapter House) was commenced in 1292,* and the delicate vaulting-ribs found on the site in August, 1907, attest the style of that period of transition. With these were found blue lias shafts belonging to door-jambs ($4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. diameter), and tiles of rather later date, with the letters S.M. (= St. Mary) and an oak-leaf for their design. The roof was covered with small stone 'slats.' Unfortunately the much-destroyed foundations of its Hall and restored XV. C. Chapel (and, perhaps, the Kitchen) alone remain to this important building, where the Infirmary resided and had jurisdiction, and where were recited daily the 'Horæ Beatæ Mariæ.' This Chapel rose on the east side of the Infirmary Hall, and in width it measured 17 feet, having a double angle (XV. C.) buttress at the south-west end. (See Moldings, Fig. 22). A little east of this rose the Precinct-Wall.

The passage by which the Infirmary at Hailes was gained, was re-built on its south side in the fifteenth century. The 2-foot wall leaves the N.E. angle of the subvault, and continues due east, with a rather ill-conditioned line, for 98 feet, having no south buttresses. It then turns an acute angle southward for 40 feet (toward the roots of a great wych-elm)† so as to form a spacious rectangular area. The south side of this area was bounded by the rere-dorter, and the west side by the subvault. Three important rooms (of uncertain purpose and unequal dimensions) succeed one another, impinging on its south-east corner.

The northern wall of the Infirmary passage, on the other hand, is a stouter and older one, of 3 ft. 6 ins. The meaning of this becomes partly clear when, at seven feet north of this again, is found a parallel wall, which remains to the length of 56 feet, having four large buttresses (13 feet apart) upon its north side. There has probably been an over-gallery from the Dorter to the Infirmary; but there has been more than that, namely, a long line of rooms, lit by north windows, starting from the immediate rear (S.E. angle) of the Chapter House, and to which there was possibly access by an outer door there. At the extreme east end of it (92 feet from Chapter House), lie in site a number of tiles (XIII. and XIV. C.),

* On August 18th, 1293, a violent thunderstorm occurred at Hailes and killed a man named Birch.

† The large trees here at present preclude further exploration.

disposed in a short path W.—E. within six feet of a double angle buttressed wall (N.) belonging to the destroyed Infirmary. Perhaps there was a stairway adjacent, but direct evidence of this is lacking. The especial use served by this chain of rooms is not known. It probably belonged to the original Infirmary. Between it and the Abbey Church is an area of virgin soil, though a door once perhaps opened to it out of the east wall of the Chapter House.

Although the Infirmary was by right the home of those who had passed fifty years under the monastic vows, (*sempectæ*) as well as the temporary abode both of the sick, and of those, such as having been bled by the minutor, needed fortifying, the same rule of silence prevailed there as elsewhere, even among those who were the appointed attendants. The 'Magister,' or Infirmarer, himself, nevertheless, received such license as he required from the Abbot. Attached to the Infirmary was usually a herb-garden for the dispensary.

For monks who were merely indisposed in lighter ways, relaxation of the severer duties of daily services, repose in the Dorter, or in the Warming-parlour, or gentle exercise in the 'ambulatorium,' or the Cloister, were regarded as sufficient, without resort to the Infirmary. The invalid was not required to do penances, and if he went to the choir with his fellows he might sit in the retro-quire, and quit the church before them.

The fragmentary 'Chronicle of Hailes'* tells us that the 'Boveria,' or Ox-houses—an important set of stone-sheds, were begun and finished in 1299 (June 22nd). As we should expect these to lie near the arable land, and not too near the main buildings, it is possible their site may be to be identified with certain foundations which lie to the west, in a line south (along the wall) beyond the cottage now in the occupation of the Misses Edwards,† and adjacent to the site of the old road (Puck Pit Lane), to Winchcombe; or else where the Abbey Farm now is, still further on. Time will shew. Immediately south of the Infirmary buildings (and perhaps of the original Abbot's lodging) lay the large Fishpond, retained at its west end by a stout wall (5 ft.) furnished with a sluice. The foundations of this wall were found in August, 1907. It started from the building itself, and it runs from north-east to south-west. (See Plan.)

* MS. Harl. 3725. *Boveria de Hayles incepta fuit et eodem anno consummata. 10 Kal. Julii. feria II. (A.D. 1299.)*

† Descendants of the James and Stratford families, for four centuries resident hereabouts.

In 1296, during the prolonged siege of Berwick, Richard of Cornwall, younger brother to Edmund, the Earl, was killed by an arrow (Chron. Hailes), and his body was brought down to Hailes and there buried. He left no legitimate offspring. Hence, when his brother Edmund (Councillor to the future Edward II) himself died without lawful issue (Oct. 1st, 1300), the Earldom of Cornwall became dormant in the Crown. The last gift made by Edmund to Hailes was in 1296, when he sent thither from his (Berkhamstead?) home,* a golden cross with an enamelled base, containing a piece of the true Cross (*nobilissimam porcionem preciosissime crucis Christi in se insertam*). The remaining two-thirds of the 'Holy Blood' he gave to the House of Bons Hommes, which he had founded at Ashridge, in the year 1297. He died October 1st, 1300, 'before dawn' at that place, where his flesh, etc., were interred. His bones were taken to Hailes.

Holinshed wrote, "Edmund was buried in the presence of Edmund (Crouchback) Earl of Kent, son of Edward I; Anthony de Beke, Bishop of Durham; Walter de Langton, Bishop of Chester; the Earl of Warwick (Beauchamp) and many others. His bones were carried to the Abbey of Hailes, Co. Gloucester, of his father's foundation, where his more magnificent funeral was solemnized on Thursday before Palm Sunday, the King himself being present, and having by letters of invitation to the Bishops of Hereford, Worcester, and Exeter, and the Abbots of Evesham, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Cirencester, Oseney, Stanley, Bordesley, Rewley, Worcester, desired them to attend, for the greater honour of his cousin, the founder of Ashridge."

The King and Queen are accordingly found at Winchcombe on March 22nd, 1301, and, the remains of the Earl guarded by two monks from Hailes rested there also for the night. The funeral took place at Hailes Abbey next day. "*Processio pulcherrima*," says the chronicler, "*obviam eis venit*." It is probable that the King stayed at Sudeley with John de Sudeley,† who enjoyed great favour with him, having (together with William de Tracy of Toddington), served forcibly in the late expedition against the Scots.‡ Both the Abbot of Winchcombe (Walter de Wickwar) and Hugh

* De domo sua transmisit. Chron. de Hayles. Harl. 3725, fol. 19.

† John de Sudeley succeeded Bartholomew, his father, in A.D. 1280, and was aged 22. Inq. P.M. No. 13, Edw. I.

‡ After the ceremony the King and Queen went to Sedgebarrow.

FIG. 15.



Oscar Clark.
DOOR TO BOOK-CUPBOARD AND VESTRY



St. C. B.
HEAD OF DOUBLE-DOOR TO BOOK-CUPBOARD.

de Dumbleton, Abbot of Hailes (Hugh II) were granted the mitre.* The latter was an executor of Earl Edmund's will (Cf. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301, p. 603).

The arms of the Abbey are, Argent, a Bend-Crosier gules surmounted by a lion rampant of the last, all within a bordure bezantee. A seal from an early XV. C. charter in the Guildhall at Gloucester displays, within a vesica, the Madonna with the Child at her breast, but no heraldic accompaniments.

A fifteenth century matrix of a seal (found in 1829 at Low Garth, Langrich on Ouse, Yorks) shows, in a vesica and beneath a star, a monk standing on the topmost of three steps, holding in his right hand an ampulla, or bottle, having issuant from it, a cross. In his left hand he holds a reliquary. The field has a scroll of nine cinquefoil flowers, all within the legend, *Sigillvm Fraternitatis Monasterii Beate Marie de Hayles* (Fig. 18, No. 1). Another, attached to an Indulgence (Fig. 25, No. 2) granted by Abbot Anthony Melton to Charles Herbert, of Raglan, natural son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and Lord Chamberlain to Henry VIII, in 1509, omits the steps, and is slightly smaller.

At the close of the first fifty years of its existence, the prosperity of Hailes thus seemed to be secured. It will be shewn, however, that in spite of the Royal grants, the feudal possessions, including the pair of Gallows† owned at Slaughter and Nether-swell, the Rectories and Rents, tolls and heriots, and, above all, of the profits accruing from the renowned Relics of the Blood and the Cross, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought continual trouble and anxiety to the Abbey, after its first prosperous quarter had been succeeded by years of drought, pestilence, and social dislocation.

* A burdensome dignity when evil and unprosperous times occurred to their Abbeys. It involved being summoned to Parliament (though the unmitred Abbot did not always evade this), while it connoted exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.

† Thieves and felons were, of course, handed over to the secular Justices; but if caught within the monastery and its precinct, they were punishable with perpetual imprisonment, with rods, and chains. A chain and manacle were found in the south end of sub-dorter in 1907.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CISTERCIAN DAY

“THE tree of silence bears the fruit of Peace,” says an Eastern proverb. That sacred but invisible tree flourished in every Cistercian monastery ; and we may accept it that the usual daily life therein (saving in times of social dislocation), fully exemplified the truth of the saying. There was no need in any part of the innermost buildings for the word ‘silence’ to be inscribed. It was understood, and so well observed both by monk and lay-brother, that it was only broken by befitting chant or formally-licensed speaking. “I will take heed to my ways that I sin not with my tongue. . . I held my peace even from Good.” The noble ideal of St. Benedict in this matter we take to have been :—

Govern the lips
As they were palace doors—the King within.
Tranquil, and fair, and courteous, be all words
Which from that presence win.

Let each act
Assoil a fault or help a merit grow !
Like threads of silver seen through crystal beads,
Let Love through good deeds show ! . . .
So shall ye pass to clearer heights and find
Easier ascents and lighter loads of sins,
And larger will to burst the bonds of sense ! . . .

Edwin Arnold.

The foundation of his Order signified to the Cistercian a return to the severe integrity of the earlier Benedictine Rule. His habit was to be entirely of white. He was to use silver, not golden, vessels ; and the windows of his Church were to transmit uncoloured light. His altar-cloths were to be of linen, not of silk ; and all his convents were to be dedicated to the Virgin.

His day was fully occupied in the Divine Offices ; ‘labor et lectio’ ; interspersed with refection and repose. The year was divided into but two seasons. Winter lasted from mid-September to Easter ; and summer, from Easter to September 14th—the second Holy Rood Day.

The main duty of the monks being the ‘Divinum Officium,’

or 'Opus Dei,' their day and night, probably transmitting the Roman sub-division of the 24 hours into eight watches (four for the day and four for the night), were divided and sub-divided so as to accommodate the various services in their Church. The intervals, besides for washing, eating, and repose, were filled in with manual labour, with reading, or with special tasks imposed upon them, and performed, either within the Monastery or beyond its precinct. Let us therefore begin with the close of one day, and briefly come round to the following evening. At 7 p.m. in winter, at 8 p.m. in summer, the bell called them from meditation in the Cloister to compline in the Church, through the processional door. Each one, throwing back his hood as he entered, and signing himself with water from the stoup, made silently for his own stall in the dim Choir, here probably by the upper (E.) entrance. The Office ended with 'Nunc Dimittis' and a hymn to the Virgin,* all turning themselves to the crucifix. It is probable that at Hailes (as at St. Mary's, York), this office was recited in summer in the Galilee-porch; the juniors or novices standing nearest the door. At a signal given by the hebdomadarian of the week they returned to the Cloister wherein the Abbot and the Prior now stood and sprinkled each one (or pair) with the 'Aspergillum,' as he passed in customary order along the east walk to the day-stairs of the Dormitory (usually in the south-east angle),† in strictest silence.

In the long Dorter, divided up into cubicles, and extending, not, as at Beaulieu, above the Sacristy and Chapter-House to the gable of the transept, but from the Chapter-House to the end of the sub-Dorter, lit only by oil cressets with several wicks, each one found his own bed, and entered it in a prescribed manner ('Nullus in lecto ascendat rectus; sed de sponda divertat pedes in ipsum lectum') for the Cistercians were ruled by formalities even here; though we must not forget that at Hailes (being distinctly one of the later foundations of the Order), many of these minute and severe particularities which had obtained at Rievaulx and other early houses, were probably not applied. Moreover, customary renderings of the 'statuta' grew up in each house of the Order. We can only guess what St. Bernard might have felt had he entered the Chapter-House

* Ave Maria gratia plena.

† Of course, in cases (as at Tintern) where the Cloister lay north of the Church, it was different.

at Hailes, and seen the gilded sculpture on the most important boss of the gilded vaulting ; or, had he entered the Church and viewed its rich stained windows. The Dormitory was probably itself divided so that the master of the novices and his charges were kept together, and perhaps again together those monks who were in priest's orders and could celebrate at the altars of the various chapels. The Abbot and the Prior retired in turn through the quiet cloister to their own apartments ; while the cellarer and the lay-brethren (or later — XIVth century — the hired domestics), in like manner extinguished the lights, and retired for the night to their own dormitory to repose before another day of solemn service and hard, but peaceful, industry. The Infirmarer, also, with his sick, or aged charges, had at the same hour ended his day-labours, and now put out the light in the Infirmary Chapel, and resigned himself to sleep. But for the hooting of the owls in the neighbouring woods, or the rain-storm in the wintry branches, or the lowing of cattle in the ox-houses, there was no sound to disturb the community until the eighth hour, otherwise at about two in the morning. Then the sacrist (for the time appointed) tinkled his bell once more in the dormitory, as a signal to rise and celebrate the night-office of the Cistercians called 'Vigils,' but which included 'Matins.' Upon hearing this, each prostrate figure arose from his slumber, signed himself with the cross, and proceeded to don the night-shoes (woollen or fur), with the 'cuculla,' or mantle, drew his pointed hood over his head, and then waited for the greater bell to toll, some of the novices preceding him and his fellow-priests and monks along a passage, and thence down to the south transept of the church by the night-stair, here at Hailes set in the thickness of the west wall of the transept. While these were lighting the candles the tolling of the bell gave the signal to the elders who now, preceded by one bearing a lantern, descended likewise to the transept, and thence to their choir-stalls, the juniors occupying those nearest the 'gradus Presbiterii,' or chancel-steps, the elders westward, and lastly the Abbot and Prior, next the opposite or western entrance of the choir ; the novices, of course, were seated below all of these in the second line of stalls. The white habits of the Cistercians naturally shew more easily in the dim light than do those of their kindred Benedictines, and the little errors committed by them in quire are more readily detected by their superiors.

The Abbot now gave the signal to cease tolling, and all kneeled

down to recite the Pater, Ave, and Credo. After this the antiphoner gave forth the first of the 'Gradual' Psalms. These were committed, like the rest of this service, to memory, so that all might be independent of the dubious illumination. For all mistakes made or lapses of memory, however, there were allotted penances. The office for the Dead followed. This ended, the interval before dawn was occupied by meditation in the Cloister. A second tolling now commenced for matins proper. Hailes had five bells, but only one of these might be rung at a time. At a signal (sometimes given by striking a wooden disc with a clapper), this ceased, and the hebdomadarian commenced intoning the Office. Other psalms followed the 'Venite,' and then the reader, first bowing to the Abbot and then to the choir, carried his candle to the lectern and at once read the first lesson. This was succeeded by the 'Responsorium' leading to the other lessons. After *Te Deum*, a priest intoned the gospel, ending the Office with the especial prayer for the day. On particular feast days, the gospel was read from the chancel-steps, the cantor being robed in amice, stole, and maniple, and accompanied by incense and extra lights. No cope was permitted in the stricter Houses of the Order. Only at mass when blessing, or in festal procession, did the Abbot wear alb, mitre and pastoral staff; the deacon wearing tunicle and dalmatic.

Matins ended, the bell began to sound for lauds, the monks remaining in the stalls or not, as they pleased, or turning back into the cloister. Returning after a brief interval to the choir, the antiphones commenced, first from one side and then responded to by the other, followed by the 'Little Chapter.' Lauds ended, the monks preceded by the novices with a lantern, as before, left the choir, and passing up the night-stair to the Dormitory, returned to bed, the sacrist putting out the lights in the church and replacing the choir-books in the cupboard. Once more the Convent was wrapped in sleep.

After an interval of some hours (usually at from six to seven, or daybreak), the sleepers were again awakened by the Prior or sub-Prior, and a bell was heard ringing '*for the length of a miserere.*' Their dressing completed, all once again descended into the gray transept, and so to their stalls, where chanting prime together with three psalms, or sometimes more, they ended with, "We bless Thee, O Lord."

At its conclusion, one of the greater bells sounded for the ordinary 'mass'; at which the 'conversi,' and familiars of the Community attended west of the quire. All who held priest's orders were used to take this mass in their turn, except the Infirmer, who held it in the 'Farmery' Chapel. The others, if they so desired, might celebrate in the chapels privately. All were bound to communicate in both kinds on the greater feasts of Maunday, Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, in addition to each Sabbath-day, and therefore, were prepared to receive it. The greater altars were adorned with silken cloths, the celebrant wearing a plain alb, without apparels, though not forbidden to use one having a single colour. The Eucharist was to be kept under lock and key. It was to be received kneeling, at the south end of the altar. The communicants, if there were many, were to receive the 'wine,' however, standing at the north angle of the altar, the epistoler holding the chalice, while the gospeller held the silver pipe (or fistula) through which in turn all were to drink. A special point observed was the daily commemoration of the Virgin, St. Benedict and St. Bernard.*

This finished, the monks entered the Cloister through the processional door, and proceeded at once to complete their toilet, in due order of precedence, at the lavatory in the south cloister walk; the novices studying their psalters under their instructor until their own turn came, when they replaced these in the cupboard, or 'armarium.' After this the bell tolled for 'Chapter,' (for there was to be no meal until mid-day), and all passed into the Chapter House, around the sides of which ran a stone bench similar to that in the Cloister. All, however, remained standing until the Abbot and Prior passed before them to their seats at its east end. When all were seated, the junior novice advanced to the lectern in the midst, and read the martyrology for the day, followed by a portion of the Rule of the Order of St. Benedict, and called especially 'the Chapter.'

* On the Feast of St. Bernard (Aug. 20th) they sang, "*Beatus Bernardus quasi vas auri solidum ornatum omni lapide precioso fluente gratia propinavit in populo, et accepit stolam glorie in consummatione virtutis. Factus est quasi ignis effulgens et quasi thus redolens in diebus æstatis. Gloria patri et filio, et spiritui sancto. Benedictus dominus deus patris nostri qui ejus doctrina et exemplum edificavit ecclesiam suam ejus felici assumptione supernam letificavit civitatem suam ejus solenni recordatione presentem hodie consolatur familiam suam.*"

FIG 16.



Max Clarke.

PROCESSIONAL DOOR (CLOISTER TO CHURCH).

Upon the conclusion of this, all rose to their feet, turned to the Crucifix,* and then resumed their seats. Whereupon, the Abbot (or in his stead the Prior), said "Let us now speak concerning the affairs of our House." Upon which the 'novices' with their master retired. Then followed statements of whatever offences or backslidings had been committed. Denials might be made, but no defence nor excuse might be offered. Probably, in the mouths of two witnesses the matter was established. Punishment promptly followed, and was received kneeling, if corporal, with a rod. But sacred silence was to be observed as to all that took place within the Family Chamber, or Chapter-room.

Disciplines doled out, and exemptions from assigned duties claimed, the indulgences for patrons and benefactors were signed, and the seal of the Convent was affixed to them by the Precentor, who had care of the seals. If there happened to be anyone desiring to be 'Professed,' or ordained, the matter was now considered, a prayer for him was pronounced, and the letters for Ordination by the Bishop of Worcester were given to the senior, whose duty it would be to conduct the candidate to that prelate. Formal commemoration of all deceased members of the Convent and 'familiaris' followed.†

The Community now dispersed themselves to their various manual labours, and no books were permitted, save to those upon whom the Abbot had imposed some especial study. It must be remembered that in earlier days of the Order, and even in the earliest days of Hailes, the Dominicans and Franciscans sneered at the Cistercians as an unlettered Order, and although schools were founded by order of the General Chapter, at Paris and, later, St. Bernard's College at Oxford (1437), in order to do away with the grounds for

* At the Feast of Holy Cross, when the relic of the Cross was displayed at Hailes, they sang, "*Ecce lignum crucis in quo salus mundi pependit, venite, adoremus, Beati immaculati in via qui ambulant in lege Domini.*" Then followed the hymn, "*Crux fidelis inter omnes, arbor una nobilis nulla silva talem profert fronde flore germine, dulce lignum, dulce clavos, dulce pondus sustinens.*" After that they lifted the relic and placed it in position, singing, "*Super omnia ligna cedrorum crux sola excelsior in que vita mundi pependi in qua Christus triumphavit et mors mortem superavit.*"

† At the burial of a brother, they said, "*Subvenite Sancti dei occurrere angeli Domini suscipientes animam ejus offerentes eam in conspectu altissimi suscipiat eam Christus qui vocavit, etc.*" The deceased having been interred, and the psalms finished, "*Clementissime Domine qui pro nostra miseria et impiorum manibus mortis supplicium pertulisti libera animam ejus de inferni voragine et de ministris Tartareis, miserator absolve, et cuncta ejus peccata oblivione perpetua dele eam ad lucem tuam angeli tradant Paradisi.*"

such a reputation, it could scarcely combine and reconcile Benedictine learning with hard labour. The Benedictine had himself come through the attempt, but he landed, by preference, in 'Learning.' At the beginning of the fourteenth century it was ordered that Cistercian novices should attend schools. At certain times of the year, however, as in Lent, more leisure was afforded for reading, both in the morning, and before compline, in the evening, and we read of scriptoria being added to the warming-parlours of certain Cistercian Abbeys in 1276. The conversus, or lay-brother, in this Order (in England) was destined to give way to the hiring domestic, even in this same fourteenth century; and with this change, although not only owing to it, came the relaxation of the olden severity of the Order. Possibly these modifications may have been connected with the development of the mendicant Orders, which offered superior attractions.

At Hailes the out-of-door labours chiefly consisted of the smaller farming-operations. The sheep-raising was carried on in the various manor-farms under their appointed stewards. Each monk attended to the Convent-cooking only for a week at a time. On Sundays the out-of-door labours gave place to reading and meditation in the Cloister. The Vestiarium was excused from ordinary labour. He carried on business for his convent with tanners, tailors, and shoemakers, and he prepared the dresses for novices. Gaiters ('wan-dangie') were worn by the monks as a protection both against cold and mud. To such as had to do digging, weeding, or carpentry, the Prior, having called them together, distributed to them their tools and often went forth with them to the field or grange, where he pronounced the 'Deus in adjutorium.' The conclusion of work was guided by the hour for terce, which was duly announced by the bell. Returning to the Cloister, they put away their implements, and proceeded in set order to the Church. This was followed on Feast-days by High Mass, succeeded by fresh meditation in the Cloister. At 11.30 the bell again called them to their stalls for sext. The Prior left before the conclusion, in order to give the signal for sounding the dinner-bell, and to receive communications from the Infirmarer and the Guest-master.

"From Easter to Whitsuntide the monks (wrote the late Mr Micklethwaite), dined after sext and had supper after nones, and the same for the rest of the summer half of the year, except

that on Wednesdays and Fridays* they dined after nones and had no supper. For the winter half of the year they had but one meal (Generale) after nones, except in Lent, when it was after evensong, which was to be said early enough to allow of the dinner being finished by daylight.

"Each monk had a daily allowance of a pound of bread and a measure (emina) of drink (water, cider, or wine), which was always the same, a third of it being reserved for the second meal when there were two. No flesh-meat nor fish was to be eaten, and lard was not to be used in the cooking."†

These and other precise limitations, however applicable to the refectory-life of the early Cistercians, were probably unknown to Hailes.

In the Frater or Refectory, the table of the president, whether Abbot (when he had no guests to look after) or Prior, was situated at the extreme end of the panelled oblong hall. The sides were occupied by long tables for monks and novices, laid with white cloths, and furnished with plates, double-handled cups, and knives. The kitcheners' assistants awaited the chanting of grace, and the Prior's blessing to the Reader (who now appeared in the hall and received it), before mounting to a stone pulpit in the west wall.

After his first sentence the Prior tinkled a bell for the uncovering of the bread, and in silence unbroken save by the reading and the subdued movements of the servers, and the pouring out of the wine, the hard-won meal began. The ample fish-ponds at Hailes, let alone the statement of Matthew Paris, re-assure us as to the use of this article of diet in addition to eggs, vegetables, and probably a reasonable, if limited, allowance of meat.

The meal ended, at a fresh signal monks and novices quietly withdrew in set order, after chanting the fifty-first psalm, leaving the Refectory to the Reader and the servers, who now washed their hands. The former made their way to the Church to render thanks. The Prior meantime visited the Infirmary. The juniors and novices may have been allowed to go and walk in the 'De-ambulatorium,' or Infirmary court, east of the sub-Dorter, if the open area there situated by chance was such. "During Lent

* At the Saturday 'Mandatum,' or washing of feet at the lavabo, they sang, "Dominus Jesus postquam cœnavit cum discipulis suis lavit pedes eorum."

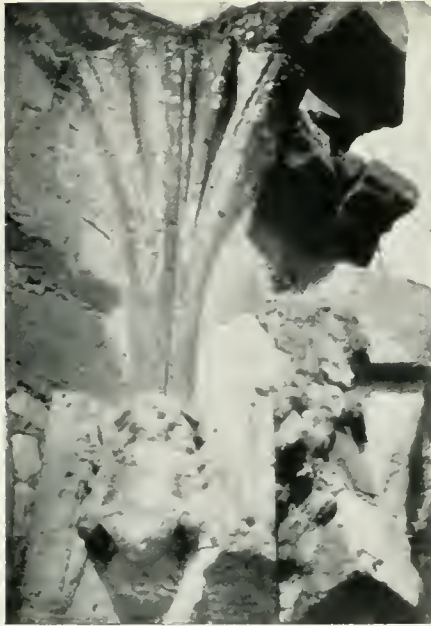
† P. 263-4, Arch. Journ: Yorks, vol. 15.

they continued (as Mr Fowler shews)* working at their field labours until 4 p.m., not breaking their fast until 5, and often saying sext and nones in the fields. This usage varied in different Houses. Throughout the year, after Even-song (a rather long office) the two last events of the day were the 'Collation,' or reading of the 'Collationes' of Cassian, or similar works, and Compline."

This took place in the Cloister, and after it the books were returned to the cupboard. The monks now went into the church again for 'Compline'; and thus the evening and the morning were the Cistercian day.

* Cistercian Statutes, vols. 9-10, Arch. Jour: Yorks.

FIG. 17.



St. C. B.

N.E. ANGLE OF CLOISTER
SHOWING INSERTED CORBEL OF XV. C.



RECESSES OF N. CLOISTER

APPENDIX I. TO CHAPTER IX.

The early Rolls of the Manor of Hailes and most of those of its neighbours have vanished; nor can the names of the copyholders of Hailes be found in the Lay Subsidy Rolls. But we obtain from the latter source many of those who were tenants of the Abbey close by it at Farmcote, Ford, and Pynnock.* As, however, the rural population of the immediate neighbourhood at such a period as the early fourteenth century ought still to have local interest, it will perhaps be well to include a little more of these, and note who lived at Stanway, Didbrook, Toddington, and Winchcombe.

FARMCOTE (spelled Ferncote). A.D. 1327

Roger le Coke	VIIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$ q.	John Wandes	Xd. $\frac{1}{2}$
John Lambarde	XIId.	Wm. le Boude	VIIIId.
Stephen le jet	XIId. $\frac{1}{2}$	John le Wyse	VIIIId.
Sara Lambard	XIId.	Abbot of Hayles	IIIIs
Wm. Taundy	Xd. q.	prob. summa	XIIIIs. VIIId.
Elia atte Grove	VIId.		
Walter Hobbes	XIIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$		
Cedom de Francote	2s. $\frac{1}{2}$		

TODDINGTON (spelled Tudyntone) PYNNOKE, FORD, HYDE

Wm. Pynsoun	IIIIs. IIId. $\frac{1}{2}$	Wm. Springfield	VIId.
Wm. le Kinge	XXId. $\frac{1}{2}$ q.	John le Sclattere	VIId.
John le Tayllur	VIId.	Wm. atte Mulle	VIId.
Matilda le Cowherde	IIIIs. Id. $\frac{1}{2}$ q.	Walter le Treuman	XVd.
Alicia Alenare	XXIIId.		

Henry atte Pulle

(Pool)

Matilda Updiche	XIs. VIIId. q.	De Thomas Boreton	XIIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$ q.
John Alenare	IIIs. IIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$ q.	John Mulleward	XVd. $\frac{1}{2}$
Phillip Miller	IIIIs. IIIId.	John Walker	XVIIIId. q.
John le Bien	IIIs. Xd. q.	John atte Nelme	XIId. q
Richard le Chaumbrer	XIIIId.	Richrad Intehale	XXId.
John Heynes	XIId.	Richard Ferlinge	IIIs. VIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$
Christina Whithond	XIId.	Henry Jannes	XXIIIId. q.
prob. summa	XXVIIIs. IIIId. q.	Robert Jannes	IIIs. IIIId. q.

SNOWSHILL

John le Freman	XIId.	Adam le Quarreour	XVIIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$
Wm. Morcok	XIIIId.	Sarra de Brokhampton	XIId.
Wm. Broun	XXd. $\frac{1}{2}$	prob. summa	IXs. VIIId.
Ralph Michel	XXd.		
Wm. atte Yate (Gate)	XIIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$		

* See Appendix 2 for Rowell, Stanton.

DIDBROKE

Robert Gouwer	IIs. VIIId.
Wm. Andrew	IIs. VIIId. q.
Alicia Colines	XXd. q.
Richard le Bek	IIs. $\frac{1}{2}$ q.
De Odon de Beckeforde	IIs.
John le Carpenter	VIIId.
Richard Huwen	IIs.
Henry Silvestre	IIs. VIIId.
Walter Gouwer	XVd. $\frac{1}{2}$
Walter Osborn	IIs.
prob. summa	XIXs. IIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$ q.

GREET (Greote)

Richard Dastyn	Vs. XIId.
Robert de Wotton	XXd.
Wm. de Wotton	XXIIId.
John Bishop	XIIId.
Ingram de Greet	XIId.
Wm. Serveys	XIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$ q.
John atte Green	XIId.
Ralph Bubel	IIs. VIIId. $\frac{1}{2}$
prob. summa	XVIs. VIId. $\frac{1}{2}$

WINCHCOMBE

John de Aldrinton	IIIs.	Wm. Pweleye	IIs.
Rd. Frend	IIs.	Walter Regner	XIId.
Rob. Webb	XVIIIId.	Ralph Turnour	IIs.
Rob. le Smith	XIId.	Walter Scott	XIId.
Ralph Palefrayman	XVIIIId.	Thomas Coleman	XIId.
John Thurston	XIIId.	Robert Frend	Xd.
John Cheltenham	XIId.	Ralph de Gretton	VIIId.
John Brandon	XVIIIId.	John Leggare	VId.
John Parchmenter	XXd.	Henry Keys	IIs. VIId.
Thomas Tamar	XIId.	Agnes Winter	VId.
Ri. Shirebourn	VIIId.	John Benne	XIId.
Hen. Hopere	IIs.	Ante Kild (? Anketel)	XIId.
Wm. Schlattere	VId.	Edith Sturdy	XIId.
Wm. Hod	XIId.	Richard Blebury	VIIId.
Ra. Nonchard	XIId.	Summa XXmæ	
John Tallaw	XIId.	Villa de Winch-	
John Sey	IIs.	combe	IIIIli. Xs.
Thomas atte Hull	XIId.	Henry atte Celer	
Ri. Malemon	IIIs.	sub-tax	XIId.
Wm. Kembare	VId.	John Maltman	XIId.
John de Keynton	IIs.	Thomas Carpenter	XIId.
Wm. Joliff	XIId.	Summa	IIIs.
Walter Stowe	IIs.	Prob. summa XXmæ	
Wm. Momelard	IIIs.	Villa de Wych-	
H. Addy	IIs.	cumbe	
John Miller	VId.	tax, sub tax	IIIIli. XIIIs.
Rob. Petyt	IIs.		
Henry Jabel	XIId.		
John Parfay	IIs.		
John Croy	IIs.		
Peter Wyshand	XIId.		
Walter Jelemay	XIIId.		
Walter Saltere	XIId.		

APPENDIX II. TO CHAPTER IX.

ROWELL, SNOWSHILL, HALLING, STAUNTON (STANTON).

ROWELL. (1340) (MS. Court Rolls of Winchcombe at Sherborne House.)

Tenants.

Susanna Strynet	Ralph Hall	Henry Cobbe
SNOWSHILL		
John Russel	John le Freman	John atte Barre, quarrier
Robert Didbroke	Walter de Brockhampton	John Rose
Richard Jannes		
HALLING		
Walter Chamberlain		

The following are the names of the STAUNTON tenants of the Abbey of Winchcombe, under the dates placed against them. (From Sherborne MS. Rolls of Winchcombe.)

1340

William Taylour	John Toye	Robert Huwen
Thomas Trucman	Nicholas Nicholes	

Henry Wynsom delayed beyond the Manor-boundaries without license, and is fined

John in le Hale is elected Reeve.

A 2s. license is granted for the marriage of the daughter of Ralph Gosselyn.

Robert Parson	John, his son	
---------------	---------------	--

Mede furlong mentioned. [Next the Knapp, next Agg's corner.] Bradley's Orchard next.

1341

Robert le French	John Halemam	John le Mulwarde
------------------	--------------	------------------

Henry Partriche.

1355. (a. 29, Edw. III.) RENTAL

John above town for 1 dwelling-house and a yard-land pays ten eggs and 12d. for XII. muttons.

John Knight	1 ditto,	ditto.
-------------	----------	--------

Thomas Trewemon Edith Gosselyn

Henry Chopin, 'shepherde,' 1 mess. and 1 yardland; IX. muttons.

William Gardiner holds 1 'Cotlond' called Garwelond.

" " " 3 buttes of demesne land at Stapelinchweye; IX. muttons

Ralph Damelyn has the watermill [Mill-close down at the Court.]

Henry Button is carpenter.

And from the entire Homage for 'Wikeweraselver'* from the feast of the manifestation of St. Michael even to the last day but one of August yearly. XIs. XIId.

* Cf. Wake silver, or Hole silver. (Cf. Glouc. N. and Q., vol. 3, pp. 17-18. Duntlesborne Abbots, Coln St. Aldwins, Coln Rogers rendered it likewise). Wike here probably stands for Wic, *i.e.*, Wiccia. Wiewara = men of Wiccia. The tax may have been for homicide committed in the Manor.

And the entire Homage for tax £VI. XIII. IIIId.

[Place names mentioned at Staunton. Longethorne, Beneathetown, Duke-mead, Sourknight, Quemley [First field on left below him to Stanway below Dormer] Dichefurlong, Cleyford, Longlinch.

(1357) ROWELL

Henry Sponleye	Walter Heyward	John Clerke
John Masy	John Mereway	

1357. STAUNTON. (a. 31-32, Ed. III.)

A fight with swords and sticks between Reginalde Pounce and Reginald Attchale Chaplain, re the wife (Agnes) of the former whom the latter has insulted. The Chaplain defends and pleads not guilty.

1400-1 (Hen. IV., a. 2)

The Abbot of Winchcombe concedes a house called 'the Bowr' to John Hickes.

Wm. Bradeleye, Abbot of Winchcombe, makes over under certain conditions to the inhabitants of Staunton the demesne lands of the manor.

They are to deliver to the Abbey at Christmas:—

21 quarters of corn

21 „ „ dragium (coarse variety of corn.)

21 Capons

42 Hens

The keep of three boars.

Names of Closes, and woods, etc., mentioned:—

Longefurlong, Shortfurlong, Lydfordbroke, Netherwodeberewe, Burworminton, Wynsehale, Bercarie, Quarries in Cokemedede, Millcroft.

1437. (a. 10, Hen. VI.)

Henry Trewemon broke his assize.

(1442) ROWELL

Robert Russell	Richard Wele	Henry Taundy
Thomas Barton		

The road through Staunton is to be mended with stone from a trench called Greston.

1447. (a. 20, Hen. VI.)

The hedges of holdings to be made good by the respective tenants before Easter, from Schephey corner to Stanwey-legge.

John Goselyn. Thomas Merway.

1466. STAUNTON

Walter Choppyne, John Cateslade and Robert Schlatter have set snares in the lord's woods and are fined VIId.

Henry Clerke has the water-mill.

The village is in ill-condition owing to delapidations and neglect of repairs. Numerous fines.

FIG. 18.



XV. CENT. SEAL OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE
BLESSED MARY OF HAILES.



BRONZE CANDLESTICK FOUND AT HAILES.

CHAPTER X.

THE XIVTH CENTURY.

IN contrast to this functional life of the Convent within toward its Church, under its Obedientiaries or various officers, and even in contrast to that of the farm-servants and external officials of all kinds, and there were perforce many,—stood that of the various grades of pilgrims, guests, and patrons, who came from all quarters to visit the superb Abbey, and to be shewn its famous Relic. Other English Cistercian Houses had their attractions of different kinds, and there were in Gloucestershire, Flaxley and Kingswood, and, in Monmouthshire, there was Tintern, in all its beauty, just beyond, but there was only one Cistercian 'Shrine' in all England, and that was at Hailes. In 1533, a few years only before the general suppression, Latimer could write to his friend Master Morice, from his rectory at Kineton, near the Fossway, telling him he would wonder to see how the pilgrims come out of the West country, "chiefly to see the Blood of Hayles." By this evidently he meant out of the south-west, *i.e.*, all those who had passed, by one way and another, to Cirencester, and thence had come on their way.

There were, in fact, two routes offered to the choice of pilgrims from that direction, which it is needful in passing to remark upon. They could leave the Fossway, in the neighbourhood of Stowell, and taking the old Salt-way, might jog along by Hazelton and Salperton, and then finally drop down on Hailes by Salters' Hill and Pinnock; where a Farm still called Abbey Farm now stands at its junction with the disused Puck-Pit-Lane. The last was an important mediæval road which led from Winchcombe to Stanway. Close to this, local remembrance places an Inn for Pilgrims (really the Abbey 'Hospitium'), said to have been standing thirty years ago.*

The other route kept the pilgrim steadfastly to the Fossway until he breathed the fine air at Stow-in-the-Wold. Thence he turned off by the Abbot of Hailes' Manor of Nether Swell on to a road purposely direct to Ford Hill and Farmcote, where

* It was a courtyard-building entered by a small arched door.

he came suddenly into full view of the grey-golden Abbey far below, standing within its ample rectangular precinct-wall, with its long leaded roofs, central tower and pinnacles, and the magnificent chevet of its buttressed choir-chapels. Distributed, in thought-out order, in its neighbourhood, were now described the two-storey'd Guest-Houses, the Infirmary of the same ('Infirmatorium secularium'), the malt-house, the bake-house, with smoking chimney, and beyond these and near the Guest-house, to the south-west, the Abbey farm; while perhaps a little to the north-west and west from the Abbey-front, stood the outer and inner Gate-Houses with their arched gates and embattled parapets, connected by a section of precinct-wall with the small cemetery around Hailes Parish Church, past which the road down would by-and-bye conduct him to the chief entrance. There a bell would be rung, and his horses would be taken.

"Grey companies of pilgrims might one see
Threading the steep hill-side
Singing Saint Mary and the Holy Blood—
Or, river-like, thin lines of flashing steel—
Blithe bands of noble knights and ladies fair,
Neath banners bearing Stafford's flaming wheel
Or, golden with the chevrons of De Clare—
Or gailier, still, from Gloucester, over Cleeve—
Out-bright'ning the June dawn-rise with its dew—
Broad pennons of the King* one might perceive
Glimmering with glorious lilies of Anjou."

There is the more reason for placing the Gate-Houses there, near the Parish Church, since the important roads from Evesham and Tewkesbury, north and west, brought their own quota of guests and pilgrims, likewise, and for these, the little Norman Parish Church (temp: Edward II. rebuilt by the Abbots, to whom it had been given), possibly served as their chapel.† And before long it is believed that this may become determined for certain.

There was a natural distinction made between the ordinary guests of the Convent, and the guests of the Abbot, himself now (1301) a mitred baron and lord of many manors. While the latter would be lodged in the Abbot's house (in early days close to the great Infirmary, but later in the Cellarer's building, west of the Cloister), the former were lodged out in the Hospitium, and in the

* Edward I., A.D. 1301.

† Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester, in 1270, is recorded to have endowed the Vicarage of Hailes with 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d. then, now about £70). This was paid annually by the Abbot and Convent in equal portions, with the allowance of offerings, and a house and garden. (10 Cal. Oct. 1270). Cf. Regist. Giffard (Dioc. Worc.)

Gate-Houses. If (as has been suggested), the Parish Church served for the Guests' Chapel, the Gate-House at Hailes must have possessed more accommodation for them than was the case at Beaulieu, where the upper floor (as Mr Brakspear has shown), "was entirely occupied by the Chapel." (Cf. *Archl. Jour.* Vol. LXIII., No. 251, 1906).

Unfortunately, devastation has here done its evil work so unchecked, that but few scientific details respecting the usual external buildings of the Cistercian Monastery can be given, and until lately even their sites were not to be identified. Moreover, the pasture of the field in which the sites lie, happening to be a specially valuable one,* it is scarcely to be wondered that excavation has had to be conducted slowly and piecemeal. An Italian proverb assures us :—

Dove abitano i frate e grassa la terra.
[Where monks live the soil is rich.]

And this was particularly true of Hailes field; nevertheless the 'grassezza,' or 'fatness,' was there before the monks came. Thousands of years have here deposited the spoils of the wooded hills, and the monks have added richness to this not only with their aforetime labours, but with their burials in the space between the Abbey Church on its north side and that of the parish; which space was walled off from (perhaps in line with) the west front of the former, and was probably entered by a gate in this west wall.

Into this, and most other parts, no visitors ever entered. Nevertheless, all had to reach the 'Shrine' conducted by the Sacrist or the Precentor; and to do this they entered by the door of the north transept, exterior to which, and adjoining it on the west (and perhaps also on its east side), was a small attached building or chamber, probably the Sacrist's chequer on one side (W.) and a vestry on the other (E.) Consequently, pilgrims to the Shrine of the Holy Blood, having put off their shoes, entered the Church by the same door which conducted the dead to their last resting-place, on the side remotest from the Cloister. They then found themselves passing in front of three screened and painted Chapels, whose various dedications would be noted, and when presently facing the upper entrance to the Choir beneath the tower, they turned left, and were led along the tiled north aisle of the Presbytery,

* "Cattle fatten here quicker than in any field on the estate." From a private letter.

passing by the elaborate painted and gilded tombs of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and Sanchia of Provence, lighted by the north windows as well as by those of the opposite clerestory. On reaching the apse of five chapels, they were probably admitted in groups through a door in the precinct-screen running from pier to pier, around the shrine, where they kneeled down before it until such time as the monk (whose duty it was to display the sacred Relic), discovered it to their astonished gaze, and gave them desired absolution.* *There*, many believed themselves to be fully healed, or at least put in the way of healing, and they prostrated themselves in passionate prayer. "God daily sheweth miracles through the virtues of that precious Blood," wrote honest Leland.

Their devotions ended, they rose and were conducted out by the same way, unless especially permitted to pass round by the south side and so out by the West door and the Galilee.

When Nicholas IV. in March, 1291, granted for six years a tax upon all temporal possessions of the Religious, out of goodwill to Edward I., and to enable him to prosecute another Crusade, the Abbey of Hailes was taxed† upon the following various properties:—

	£	s.	d.
They have at Hayles eight carucates‡ valued per carucate at		24	0
From the Store five pounds			
At Coscet(combe) two carucates valued per carucate at	..	10	0
One mill (<i>i.e.</i> Hailes Grove Mill) .. .. .	..	13	4
Rent of Assize .. .. .	..	12	0
From the Store .. .. .	..	20	0
Total sum	£17	17	4
§ The Abbot of Hayles has at the Home-Grange, seven carucates, valued per carucate at			1 mark
" " Hamstud two carucates			1 mark
" " New Grange two "		14	0
" " Farlec two "		10	0
" " Romeslege two "		10	0
" " Oxemore one "			1 mark
" " Bendesport three "		10	0
" " Blakelege one "		10	0
" " Radewell one "		10	0
" " Hayles from pleas and perquisites		20	0
Rent of Assize		Four Pounds	
From two mills p.a.		20	0
From a Grange at Pyrcote (1 carucate)		10	0
Rent of Assize		2	6
Total sum	£19	3	10
Tithes thence	£1	18	4½

* We cannot state whether the Shrine at Hailes had, as had that at Westminster, a 'Cooperculum' or not.

† Cf. Taxat. Eccles. Papæ Nich. IV., p. 243.

‡ Ploughlands.

§ Id. op. p. 230.

FIG. 19.



XIV. CENTURY TILES

E. Marsand.

The Church of Hayles :—*

Taxation	=	£	s.	d.
Portion of Vicar	=	16	0	0
Portion of Abbot of Winch-	=	8	0	0
combe (Burials)	=	0	7	0

Tithe	£	s.	d.
Tithe	1	12	0
Tithe	0	16	0
Tithe	0	0	8½

At Hagley† (Suffolk) (Dioc. of Norwich) :—
The Abbot of Hayles

Taxation	=	£	s.	d.
	=	27	6	8

Tithe	£	s.	d.
Tithe	2	14	8

At Evenlode :—‡

The Abbot of Hayles has in small tithes and there remain a penny and a half-penny not liable to tithe	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
.. .. .	0	2	0	=	0	0
						2½

The Church of Nether Swell (Sowell) :—||

The Abbot of Hayles has a portion in retained tithes	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
.. .. .	0	10	0	=	0	1
						0

Except in a few public records, there are preserved for us none of the names of the many great personages who visited Hailes. It is reasonable, however, to conclude that the arms of certain families borne upon the encaustic tiles in the Abbey, and dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, would not be found in such an Abbey as Hailes but to signify that certain of their members had been either its patrons, or had been interred there by especial license of the Abbots. In either case, they must have been visitors to the Shrine, or, at least, benefactors to the Abbey, whenever they are to be dated later than 1270 A.D. That this is reasonable, is shewn by the finding at Hailes of tiles bearing the Beaufort Portcullis and the survival of the Indulgence as to a patron, granted to Lord Herbert of Raglan, and bearing the same Portcullis within the Capital letter commencing it. (Cf. Fig. 25, No. 2). If to this we may add the owners of the numerous coats of arms found (1904) by the late Mr Henry Prothero and the writer, limned in red upon both chancel-walls of the Parish Church, under many later coats of whitewash, we may obtain the names of some of the more important of the early pilgrims who visited the Shrine, besides those heretofore mentioned. For it would be the least probable conjecture that the shields placed there were not in intimate relation to the Abbey and its patrons.

* p. 223b.

† Haughley, or Hagenet.

‡ p. 219b.

|| p. 222b.

ARMS				
De Stafford (?)	..	..	..	[tile XIII. cent.]
De Valence	..	..	..	[wall]
Berkeley	..	..	..	[wall, and XV. cent. tile from the Galilee.]
Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick				[tile, XV. cent.]
Margaret de Ferrers of Groby	..	..		[tile, XV. cent.]
Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester				
(1375-95)	..	..	..	[tile, XIV. cent.]
Mortimer	..	..	..	[tile, XV. cent.]
De Verdon (?)	..	..	..	[tile, XV. cent.]
Hastings	..	..	..	[tile, XV. cent.]
De Bryan	..	..	..	[wall, XIV. cent.]
Despenser	..	..	..	[wall and tile, XIV. & XV. c.]
De Baddlesmere	..	..	..	[tile, XIV. cent.]
De Clare	..	..	..	[tile, XIII. cent.]
De Monchensi (?)	..	..	..	[wall]
St. Valery (?)	..	..	..	[wall]

From the increase in the Abbey's possessions in the early fourteenth century, and the rebuilding of the Parish Church about 1313, its prosperity may be inferred.* There ensued many successive favourable seasons, followed however, by a drought, at that time. In 1301 King Edward confirmed the grant made by the late Earl of Cornwall, his cousin, of his Manor of Lechlade, at a fee farm rent of 100 marks, and he increased it to 100 pounds. But since the Abbey in 1319 exchanged its interest in Lechlade with Hugh le Despenser (sen.) for Siddington, and £10 rent in Purton and Chelesworth (Wilts.), we may conclude that the Lechlade property was not as profitable as was desired.† However, it was then worth £150 a year. Adam le Hunte of Hailes, who held two messuages and nineteen librates of land of Hugh le Despenser, gave these to the Abbey together with three acres at Sudeley, one man and one toft. Northley Rectory had been appropriated in 1304.‡ In 1305, the good relations between Winchcombe Abbey and Hailes having been seriously compromised by reason of the dogs of the former Abbey having hunted without license of the Abbot of Hailes over his Warren (*i.e.*, at Piseley), a meeting between the said Abbots took place at the Chapel of St. Lawrence, at Greet, and the quarrel was made up under a formal agreement before John de Sudeley and William Inge, the Justiciary. (Chron. de Hayles, fol. 52, Cleop. D. III.) In 1324 Le Despenser granted the

* Its wool was probably sold at Winchcombe (Guiccichcombe) to the Florentine merchants, who took that of Flaxley (Flecceia), and Kingswood (Chincesulda), and Evesham (Guesame in Chondisgualdo: Cotteswold). Cf. MS. 2441, Riccardiana, being the Manuale del Mercante by B. Pegalotti.

† Epis. Reg. Worc. Cobham, fol. 106, Cart. R. 12 Ed. II. No. 17. Also Cal. Patent Rolls. Ed. II., Part I., m. 23.

‡ Lincoln Epis. Reg. Dalderby Nisbit, fol. 145.

advowsons of the Churches of Longborough (Glos.) and Rodborne (Wilts.), and in the following year the Bishop of Worcester (Th. Cobham) appropriated Longborough to Hailes, owing to a petition of distress. This set forth that the Convent, partly owing to the remoteness of certain of their possessions, and the consequent difficulty of collection, had been unable to realize the rental of £200 a year. Many of the Abbey buildings had been left unfinished by the Founder and the second Earl of Cornwall, and like other houses, Hailes had suffered from the great drought. The superiors deplore that they will have to diminish both their numbers and hospitality. This was in spite of the fact that in 1318 Edward II. had granted them the Manor of Great Wormington,* and in the previous year a Royal license to acquire in mortmain rents and lands not held in chief to the yearly value of £10.† Winchcombe Abbey was at the same time being benefited by a gift of land lying between Wormington and Toddington, by John (2) de Sudeley.

The neighbours of the Abbot (William Dene) interest us. At Postlip there was Sir John de Solers, Roger Corbet was at Farmcote. At Little Wormington was Robert de Bodenham. Pinnockshire and Didbrook belonged to the Abbey of Hailes. Staunton, of course, still belonged to Winchcombe, as did Dumbleton to Abingdon.‡

We do not hear of any troubles at Hailes until 1337, when an unforeseen disaster plunged the Abbey into distress. On the Vigil of Corpus Christi, at the hour when the monks were in their stalls chanting vespers, their fish-pond, situated near the Abbot's lodging and Infirmary, burst its sluice, and emptied itself and its mud upon the Abbey; "*gravis dampnum et perditionis magnæ causa extitit, et doloris.*"§ We may picture the terror and dismay as well as the devastation caused by such an event. We do not learn any further particulars. It occurred within two hours of bedtime, and probably all Winchcombe came out to see the sight by morning. Nevertheless, as it occurred in mid-June, such a

* In 1303 it had been held by Robert Bodenham of the Earl of March.

† Cal. Pat. R. 12 Ed. II., pt. I., m. 23. Pt. II., m. 30.

‡ In 1309 the Abbots of Winchcombe and Hailes, Walter of Wickwane and John of Gloucester, came to agreement concerning the releasing to Hailes of the 7s. due to Winchcombe for right of sepulture at Hailes, as well as for a tithe of 2s. for Knightsmead next the water of Easebourn, and other smaller tithes. (Cart. Winchc., fol. 144-5.)

§ Fol. 22b., Harl. 3725.

catastrophe could scarcely have timed itself more luckily for the brethren. It is a suspicious fact, however, that in the Calendar of Patent Rolls for this year (pt. I., m. 21) the King's aid is invoked by the Abbot of Hailes against plunderers.* Barely perhaps had the Convent repaired its damages, and rebuilt the broken wall of the sluice, the lower courses of which are still (1908) there, than in 1345, Abbot Thomas complains that one Sir Walter Dastyn, and others, broke into his close and houses at Wormington and drove away animals to the value of 100 marks and, furthermore, beat his servants. (Cal. P.R. a. 19 Edw. III., pt. 3, m. 9.) The Dastyns were next-door neighbours at Wormington and Grete, and were free tenants of the Abbey of Winchcombe and of the Sudeleys. Hence, we may be sure there had occurred unpleasant preliminaries. Two years later, in 1347, Edward III. granted license to the Abbot to purchase lands and rents to the value of £20 a year, at the request of the Black Prince, who may possibly have visited the Abbey after his return from Crecy and Calais. An Abbot Nicholas is mentioned in the Episcopal Register (Thoresby, fol. 35) in the year 1351; but we do not learn what direct effect the Black Death had had upon Hailes. It does not appear to have visited Winchcombe,† so Hailes may have escaped; though we may be certain that neither Abbey escaped the tragic social and commercial dislocation caused by it. Winchcombe at the time was suffering from mutiny within under Abbot William de Sherborne (1340-52). The King ordered a visitation of Winchcombe, and its temporalities were placed under a Commission appointed by the Crown. (Cf. Landboc, Vol 2, XXVII.) In 1361-2 Hailes did not escape, but saw its community nearly exterminated, and lost its Abbot Nicholas. Further, on

* In 1340 the Abbot and Convent of Winchcombe sued the Abbot and Convent of Hailes for pasturing of certain of their sheep within the parish fields of Winchcombe, and claimed a tithe of the lambs born of these. The matter was temporarily settled by the payment of 3s. 7½d. on the part of the Abbot and Convent of Hailes. Cf. Cartul. Winchcombe, p. 196.

† Perhaps the XV. C. chronicler may have been thinking of the subject when, referring to the healthiness of the site and of the monks, he says, "Quos nec morbus prostravit nec mors minoravit."

It was impoverished through it, but there is no evidence to hand that the Plague touched Winchcombe. But both Gloucester and Worcester suffered badly in the summer of 1349. The following document speaks as to the condition of the Diocese of Worcester:—

Reg. Suppl. Urb. V. T. 40.

F. 190.

Episcopus Vigorniensis.

Cum in pestilentia ultima iam clapsa, in diversis monasteriis domibusque religiosis, quasi omnes seniores presbyteri viam universæ carnis sint ingressi, supplicat pro defectu natalium in ordinandis.

VIII. Kalendas Junii, Anno II. (1364), *i.e.*, May 25th.

October 31st, 1364, certain 'Satellites of Satan' broke into the Sacristy "*vehementis avaritiæ succensi*" and carried off patens, eleven chalices (worth forty shillings, the least of them), and that belonging to the High Altar, worth 100 shillings; besides two chasubles (worth twelve silver pounds), and two silver thuribles (worth thirty silver pounds).^{*} Whether the depredation was the result of external robbers or organised within the sadly impoverished Monastery does not, perhaps, absolutely appear. Monasteries throughout England suffered similar rapine at this disorganised period.[†] In 1382 Hailes[‡] paid £10 to the King in fee-farm.

The Monastery was not destined to recover its condition of prosperity until a century of continuous troubles had passed over it. In 1386 we find it distressed (unable to collect its ancient Cornish rents of SS. Breage and Paul), its occupants diminished in numbers, these ill-clad and ill-fed, and the sick doomed. (Episc. Reg. Wakefield, f. 116). The Abbot and Convent petition the Bishop of Worcester to appropriate the Church of Toddington to Hailes, together with that of Stanley Pontlarge. This was granted, and it doubtless contributed towards a gradual recovery. It is possible that the Botelers who had now (1367) succeeded to the last of the Sudeleys at Sudeley by the marriage of Joan, daughter and co-heiress of John de Sudeley with William de Boteler,[§] became patrons of Hailes; but there is no evidence at hand to prove it. The Abbot of Stratford, as General of the Cistercian Order in England, visited Hailes in 1394, and gave the monks there some advice, but perhaps he found their Convent better off than many which he had seen already. Henry of Alcester, who was Abbot in 1397, seems to have squandered the revenues, as we shall presently observe, and left it greatly in debt; and the paternal Abbot of Beaulieu, visiting Hailes, in the year following, found the sick neglected there, and the monks still ill-clothed, *i.e.*, in rags.

^{*} Et tercium cuprium precium x. solidas duas phiolas argenteas precium XIII. solidos IIII. denarios, in Suarum animarum perniciam et dicti monasterii de Hayles dampnum et gravamen pluribus dierum curriculis intercurrentibus non recuperabile furtive deportaverunt. Harl. 3725, fol. 29.

[†] A certain monk of Hailes, by name John Andover, who had left his monastery, foresworn his habit, and wandered abroad as an apostate, went to Avignon and petitioned Urban V. for his rehabilitation. The Pope wrote to the Bishop of Winchester advising him to deal leniently with the case. (June 10th., 4 Ides of June, 1369.)

[‡] Pat. Roll, pp. 129, 131.

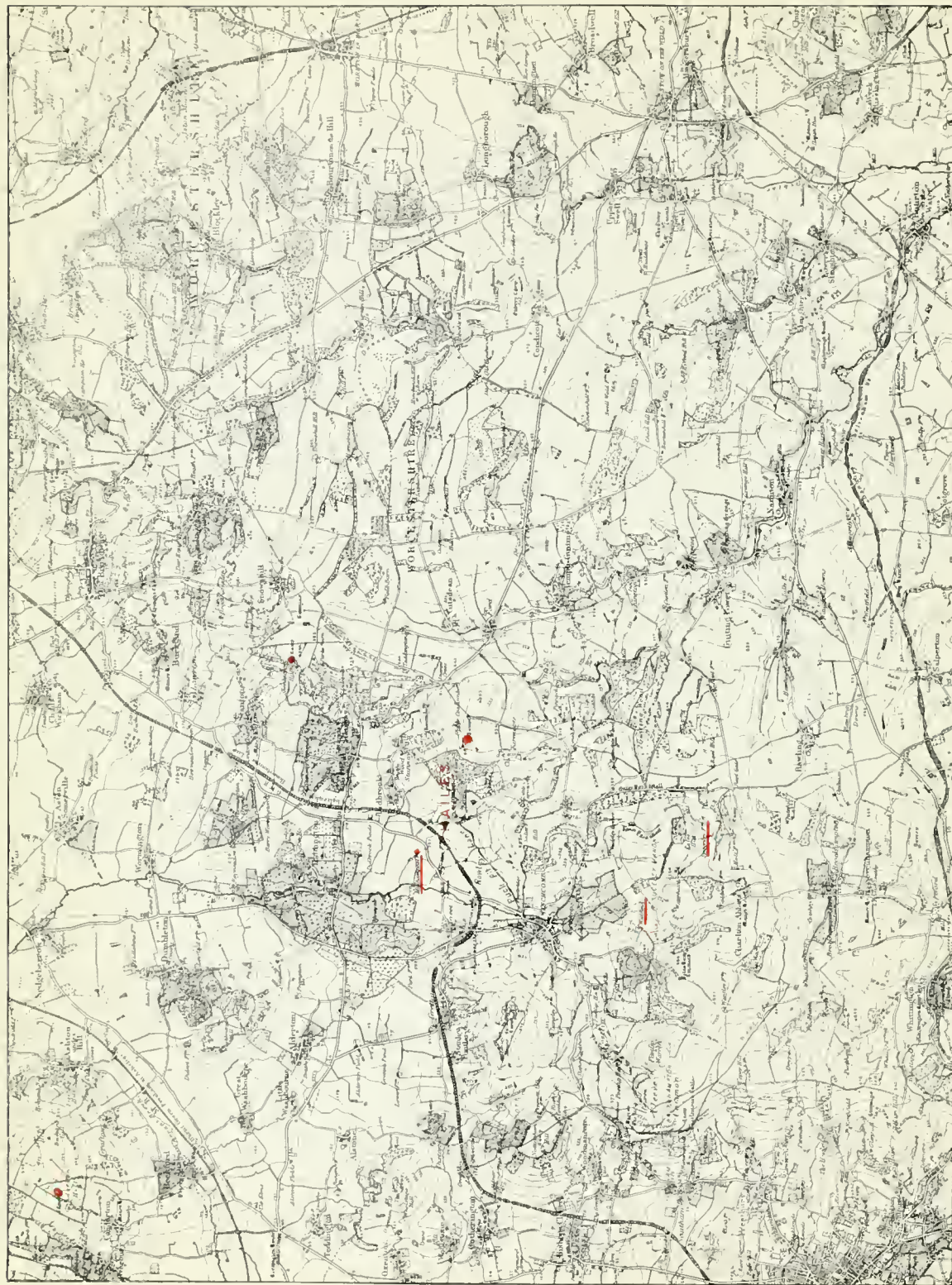
[§] His son, Thomas le Boteler, succeeded him in 1368.

CHAPTER XI.

THE XVTH CENTURY. APPEAL TO ROME FOR HELP. RESULTS.

IN the opening of the fifteenth century we find Hailes, like each of the neighbouring Abbeys, Evesham, Pershore, and Winchcombe, in far from prosperous condition. Abbot Robert (of Alcester) appeals to the Crown to effect the arrest of Henry, also of Alcester, and a monk of the same Abbey (apparently his predecessor in the Abbacy, (Cf. Epis. Reg. Tideman de Winchcombe, fol. 16 d), who has been wandering about in secular habit, in the town of Oxford, and elsewhere, in divers counties of the realm, and to deliver him up to the Abbot for castigation. (Cal. Pat. R. a. 5, Hen. IV. pt. 1, memb. 27 d.). The incident suggests unhappy conditions. The years 1403-1406, however, with abundant harvests and wheat at 4s. to 6s. a quarter, instead of 8s. to 10s., must have proved helpful to Hailes. In February, 1412, Pope John XXIII. grants the petition of the same Abbot (Robert of Alcester), to be permitted to appoint for the service of the Churches of Didbrook, Pinnock, Longbarrow, a suitable monk from the Convent, instead of a secular priest, as heretofore, as perpetual vicar. "Inasmuch as, owing to various misfortunes, the rents and revenues of the Abbey have been greatly diminished so that there is not sufficient for the fitting maintenance of twenty-two monks and their servants, far less to meet the needs of hospitality, and other usual outgoings, We, notwithstanding the 'Constitutions' and apostolic ordinances, desirous of according paternal assistance, concede your request as to these Churches." (Cf. Arch. Secr. Vatic. John XXIII. a. 3. 1412.) In the previous year (1411) the same Abbot purchased a carucate of land at Netherswell, of the value of XX. shillings a year, called 'the Park,' and held from the King in chief. Owing to the vigorous plying of the Papal Curia with petitions by this strenuous Abbot, the Pope grants relaxation of ten years, and ten quarantines of enjoined penance to penitents who, on Whitsun Day and Corpus Christi, and the seven days following each of these feasts, shall visit the Abbey, or give alms for the repair and

FIG. 20.



Scale : 2 miles 1 inch.

HAILES AND ITS ENVIRONS

(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office)

Roman sites marked as red spots.

maintenance of the Church and Convent of Hailes. Owing to the neglect by its late Abbot Henry (? a lunatic) the Abbey is said to be in debt to the sum of 1000 marks; its buildings are ruinous, and the income barely amounts to £100 a year. (Id. Feb. 1413, Lateran Regesta, Vol. 165.)

Incidentally we learn the name of the monk of Hailes appointed to Pinnock, and also that the value of the Church there, did not exceed 3½ marks.* The secular priest whom John Stanlake (the said monk) succeeded, was John Hostlore. The value of Didbrook does not exceed 4 marks (£2 13s. 4d.) In 1413, the same Abbot of Hailes received a mandate in regard to a petition from the parishioners of Dowdeswell,† who had complained to the Pope that their Church being subject to a Mother Church (which was that of Wythyndon), situated as much as one mile and a half away, they have always been, and are, obliged to carry their dead to be buried there. The Abbot is informed now that they are to have a cemetery made at a certain, and a more convenient place, to be licensed by their Bishop, and contiguous to their own Church, and this without prejudice to the said Mother Church.

All this activity marks the beginning of the slow and painful, but steady, resurrection of Hailes; taking place at the intensest moment of the Lollard crisis and that of the contest between the young King (Henry V.) and Salisbury, and Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. A similar violent controversy respecting Wickliffite doctrines (it will be remembered) was at the time raging in Bohemia, and questions regarding the nature of the Eucharist and the Blood of Christ, were being fiercely debated in an atmosphere breathing disrespect for the Holy See. The reigning Pontiff (John XXIII.) indeed, was presently to be deposed after a trial.

Her Relics, of which Hailes was proud, and to which the Abbey must needs have looked for aid toward rehabilitation, did not escape notice. When, at his trial, Sir John Oldcastle uttered his vigorous protest against certain monkish fictions and pious frauds, he did not hesitate to include the Blood of Hailes. As far as we know, this is the first recorded public calling in question of its virtue. It cannot be doubted that the multiplication of such

* Longbarrow was of the value not exceeding 8 marks (£5 6s. 8d.)

† A XVI. C. effigy at Dowdeswell of a priest in a robe diapered with roses and fleurs-de-lis, with tonsured head, has been regarded with inadequate reason as an Abbot of Hailes, if not Robert, Abbot of Hailes, mentioned by Dugdale, *Monast.* V. 687, who was of an earlier date (1380).

relics,* just as with the later multiplication of admitted examples of the Stigmata, tended to dilute the reverence with which these wonders had hitherto been willingly regarded.

A question arises, whether, or not, we should ascribe to this date the establishment by Papal license, of a guild, or confraternity, at Hailes, with an especial view to the vending of Indulgences for the purpose of repairing the dilapidated Abbey and the difficult roads which both brought pilgrims to it, and facilitated its own wool-trade. The (XV. cent.) seals of the Confraternity of Hailes, as well as a later extant 'Indulgence' (dated 1509), assure us of its existence. The Episcopal Registers of Worcester do not refer to it, because Episcopal consent was not required for the formation of such 'confraternities,' at least until 1481. We can scarcely doubt that the serious object of obtaining confirmation of the Indulgence, or even of obtaining fuller powers for his confraternity, was the object of the journey to Rome on the part of an Abbot of Hailes.

William Hendley, who governed as Abbot from 1420-1438, continued the strenuous policy of his predecessor, and in this aim he seems to have found an enthusiastic lieutenant in a certain monk, William Whitchurch, afterwards himself Abbot. (MS. Reg. XII. F. XIV. fol. 68b). He travelled to Rome in order to obtain further papal favour for Hailes, leaving the Prior, John of Alcester, and William Whitchurch to conduct the administration of his Abbey. (Cf. Epis. Reg. Winchcombe, fol. 16 d.)† The Venetian Pope, Eugenius IV. (1431-1447), granted his request and shewed the same favour as had John XXIII. He gave absolution for four confessions at the feast of Corpus Christi, and seven years and three lents (*i.e.*, quarantines) to all who would give "anything to the worship of God and that precious Blood." (Cf. Leland, Collectanea, VI. p. 283).

A considerable dispute arose in 1426 between the Prior and Hospital of St. Bartholomew, at Gloucester, and the Abbot and Convent of Hailes, concerning fealty and 18s. of rent, demanded by the former of the latter, by reason of a certain tenement standing in Southgate Street, Gloucester, and situated between the Church

* There were at least a dozen examples of the Blood in Europe, including three in England.

† Before he left for Rome the Abbot ordered two keys in order to lock the door of the Treasury where the jewels were kept. William Wotton was to keep the outer key; Richard Landrake the key of the Seal, and John Hambury, the key of the Pyx; and William Whitchurch, the Seal.

of All Saints and the tenement of the late John Hondson), but it was settled amicably (20th Sept.) ; the fealty and a rent of 6s. 8d. and no more, being proven, and the rest released.*

In 1427 the Abbot had received a Papal mandate concerning a petition similar to that of the inhabitants of Dowdeswell (already referred to), from those of Mytton in the parish of Bredon. They stated that, although they have mass and all other sacraments celebrated in their chapel of Holy Cross they have no cemetery near it, and in consequence they suffer grievous inconvenience. They are allowed to have one made for them. Two other references to Hailes belong to this period:—(1) a pardon granted at Westminster (May 13th, 1435) to John Colyn of Nissoll, Co. Cornwall, husbandman, of his outlawry in the County of Gloucester, for not appearing, when summoned, before the justices, to satisfy the Abbot of Hailes of a judgment debt of £10 and 20s. damage, he having now surrendered at the Fleet Prison, and satisfied the Abbot ; (2) Pardon (May 7th, 1438) to Henry Treglystyn of Bodrygy, Co. Cornwall (gentleman) and Margaret, his wife, sister of one Thomas Pellour, for not appearing before Wm. Babington and his fellows, late Justices of the Bench, when sued by John Hulle of Carslade, Co. Devon, and Joan, his wife, the other sister and heir of Thomas Pellour, to answer William, Abbot of Hailes, touching a plea of debt of £7 os. 7d. (Glos. C.P.R. a. 16, Hen. VI.)

In the mid-fifteenth century (1455) Hailes owned not a little property in the town of Gloucester, upon which it paid 3s. 8½d. Landgavel. Its principal tenements were a shop near the North Gate by the entrance of St. Michael's Church ; of which John Poole was then tenant. Still nearer to the Cross, in Ox Gode Lane, the Abbey held three, or more, tenements. In South Gate Street, and in the 'Mercery' (p. 5, Rental of Houses in Glos.), lay others, as well as two more lying near St. Aldhelm's (p. 71, *idem*), and there was yet one other at the corner of the Hurst "where one may proceed near the wall towards the Blind (*i.e.*, closed) Gate." (Quoted from a document temp. Henry II.), (p. 83 *id.*)

To this period may be attributed certain repairs and restorations in the Abbey buildings, including (probably) the lavatory in the Cloister, the greater portion of the Frater, the South wall of the Infirmary passage, and Infirmary Chapel. But the Papal Indulgences to sinners had not by the year 1458 brought in sufficient

* The Seal is attached to the Writ belonging. Cf. Cal. Corp. Records of Gloucester, No. 1089.

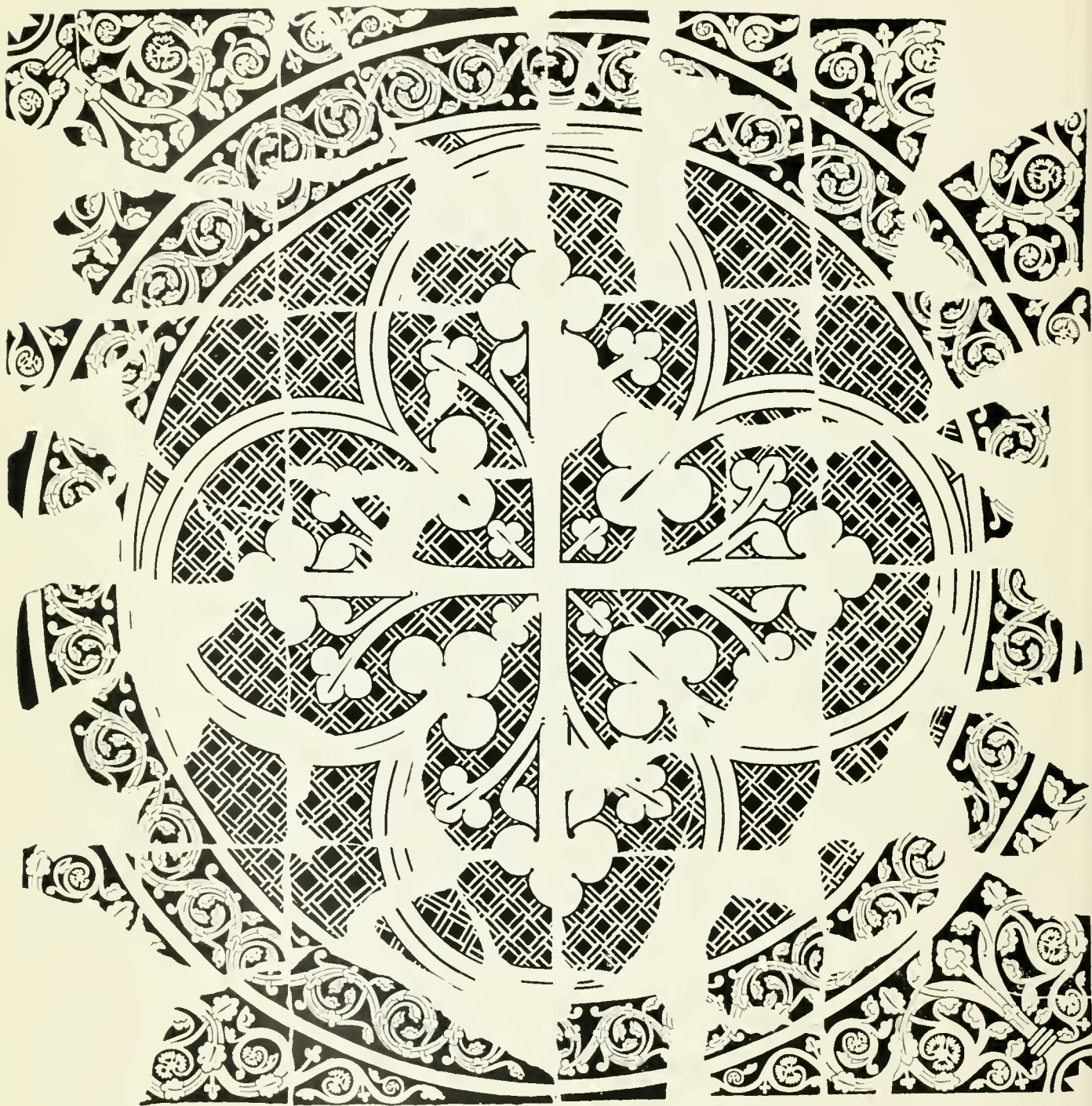
money to meet all the needed rebuilding. Hence, Calixtus III. (Alfonso Borgia) exhorted the faithful once more by means of a fresh grant ('*manus porrigentibus adjutrices*') to assist with their alms. The archæological evidence certainly suggests that a conflagration had added to the miseries of Hailes.

"Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, Monasterium Sancte (Mariæ) de Hayles, Ordinis Cisterciensis Vigorniensis diocesis, in suis structuris et *hedificiis magnam ruinam patiatur*, fructusque redditus et proventus dicti Monasterii ad faciendum structurarum hedificiorum hujus modi reparationem non sufficiant, sed Christifidelium suffragia sint quam plurimum opportuna. Nos Cupientes ut monasterium ipsum, etc. . . . omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis qui in festivitatis . . . ecclesiam ipsam devote visitaverint annuatim, et ad hujus modi reparationem, restaurationem, et conservationem, manus adjutrices porrexerint. . . . Septem annos et totidem quadrigenis singulis, etc. . . . misericorditer relaxamus." (Ap. 18, 1458. Arch. Secr. Vatic. Reg. Calixti, III. N. 463.) It is left to the conscience of the visitor to determine the value of his offering. Also, says Leland, "Fifteen cardinals each by himself (observe the accumulative power !) gave a hundred days' pardon to those who honour it and put their helpynge hondes to the well-fare of that forsayde monasterie of Hayles." (Collect. VI, p. 283.)

We do not find a record of any immediate effect due to the Indulgence. England as a whole was in the most perturbed condition possible. The Wars of the Roses left their thorns freely about the pilgrim's feet, as he journeyed toward the various favourite Shrines. The Abbots of Beaulieu, as visiting Abbots of Hailes, doubtless added their petitions to those of the monastery itself. Their report upon it in 1442 (M.S. Reg. XII. E. XIV. f. 81 v. B.Mus.) had been far from favourable to its administration, both disciplinary and financial. But, as they had ordered certain material repairs to be carried out at once, it is probable that this was done.

In 1468 Paul II. granted a petition asked of him, permitting the Abbey for the future to put in a monk instead of a secular priest at its living of Rodburne, Co. Wilts, value not exceeding ten marks sterling. This form of economy, we have noticed, was already practised by Hailes with regard to its Gloucestershire livings of Diddbrook and Toddington. Winchcombe Abbey was doing likewise, and for the same purpose.

FIG. 21.



[E. Marsland, Del.]

CHERTSEY TILE

PUT TOGETHER FROM FRAGMENTS TO INDICATE APPROXIMATELY THE ORIGINAL DESIGN

Meantime, (1462), we find, made by the Crown, a grant for life to Edmund Molineux, Esq., of £16 16s. 10½d., paid yearly into the exchequer by the Abbot and Convent of Hailes for the fee-farm of Pinnockshire. This the new Crown tenant did not enjoy for long, as in 1479 (December 2nd) there is a similar grant for life to John Molle, one of the Yeomen of the Crown, of 6d. daily for his fee from Easter last out of the fee-farm of Pinnockshire, Co. Glos., at the hands of the Abbot of Hailes, or the Sheriff; and a similar grant was made to another yeoman, John Pye (Nov. 12th, 1479, Westminster)

These grants of Pinnockshire do not at first sight yield their significance. They really connote that Ralph de Boteler, Lord of Sudeley* (to whom that fee had been granted by Henry VI.—together with the Manor of Southam), had become attainted as a strenuous Lancastrian and his lands had escheated. This catastrophe to his family had occurred at a moment when, at great expense, he had rebuilt, on a nobler scale than had before existed, both the Castle and Church of St. Mary, at Sudeley. Blows rained quickly upon him. For on Edward IV. coming to the throne (1461) Ralph's office as knight of the Royal Body became forfeit and it was certain that his possessions would follow. Nevertheless, he appears to have been treated with exceptional forbearance, and Sudeley, together with lands in Toddington, Greet and Gretton, Stanley-Pontlarge, Newnham and Catsthorp were not taken from him until seven years later (Feb. 23rd, 1468), when, having no son living, he was permitted the hollow formality of granting these away by charter to a set of nominal trustees appointed by the Crown (Rot. Claus. a. 8, Ed. IV. No. 3). Such was the price he was compelled to pay for his release from the Tower, where, for a time, he had been confined. He died in 1473.

In 1469-70 (9 Ed. IV.) the King gave Sudeley with belongings to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, with remainder to the King in failure of heirs male. (Close Roll, a. 9, Ed. IV. m. 12.) Nine years later, we meet with of an important grant, by privy seal, at Westminster (March 13th, 1478) of the office of Constable

* We find him acting, with his son, as arbitrator between the Abbess and Convent of Sion and the tenants of their Manor of Cheltenham, Sept. 27th, 1452, at Cheltenham. His decision was given in favour of the tenants. The witnesses include the Prior of Deerhurst, Thomas Boteler, Kt., John Boteler, William Tracy, Thomas Pancefot, Thomas Bardet, John Cassy, William Gifford, Nicholas Gifford, Thomas Hikford, and Henry Tracy.

of Sudeley and of the game there, further, of the offices of Steward and Receiver of the lordship lately pertaining to George, Duke of Clarence, and thereafter in the King's hands, owing to an exchange between the King and his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, "receiving the accustomed fees from the issues of the Lordship and also of the herbage and pannage of the Park there, rendering to the King 100s. annually," to the King's servant and King's esquire, John Huddleston. In the following year (July 8th, 1480) Christopher Huddleston was appointed Parson of Sudeley, *vice*, Rev. Walter Strange, resigned. And on coming to the throne himself, Richard appointed as Steward and Bailiff of Sudeley, John Huddleston, Esquire of the Royal Body (March 8th, 1484), (Cf. C. Pat. Roll, a. 1, Rich. III. pt. 5, 148). This was an appointment for life (Cf. C. Pat. Rolls, 1484, p. 448).* Meanwhile, Abbot Whitchurch rebuilt the Church at Didbrook, where the east window still contains in coloured fragments, together with his name, some partial record of him. 'Orate pro anima Willelmi Whytchurche.' He is said to have been its Vicar, which he may have been, in the sense already referred to—*i.e.*, that this Church was served by a monk from the Abbey, instead of a secular vicar, for economy's sake. His abbacy extended from 1465† to 1479, and there is reason to believe that under his rule was rebuilt much of the Cloisters at Hailes, although the heraldic bosses belonging to the west walk must have been carved long after (1529-38) with the arms of successive patrons, and there inserted. He is said to have re-consecrated the Church of Didbrook after its profanation by reason of a slaughter of Lancastrian fugitives hiding for sanctuary therein, June 18, 1472, (Cf. Tanner, *Notitia*), and it is held with probability, that the effigy of an Abbot remaining there represents him. Abbot Whitchurch is said to have paid for the structure of Didbrook Church out of his own money. He may have raised part of the price by the sale of the old De Solers and Golafre Manor of Batsford, which it is certain he sold for one hundred marks to Robert Handy (gentleman) of Evesham. The latter was patron

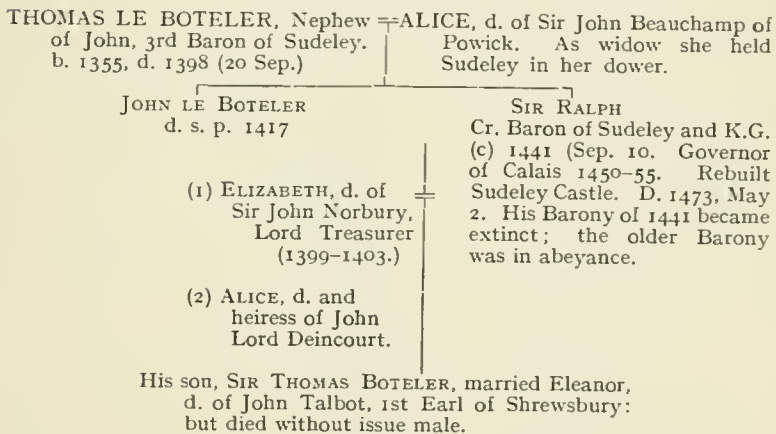
* The Royal favour was profusely showered upon the Huddlestons at this time. In 1484 John Huddleston was given the additional manors of Elmeley, Kelmorton, Crome, Pedhill and Lidney in Co. Worcester; and he was made Parker of the Park of Much Walden, Co. Essex.

† Oct. 27th, 1465, Pardon to Henry Greave, late of Evesham, 'Barker,' for not appearing to answer Richard, Abbot of Hailes, touching a debt of £40 (Worcester) Pat. Roll. On June 20th, 1466, William Whitchurch received an *Inspeximus* and *Confirmatio* of the original Charter of Hailes.

of Batsford in 1486. In 1476 (May 20th) was pardoned at Gloucester, Christopher Harcourt, Esq., late of Longcombe (Co. Oxford), for not appearing to answer William (Whitchurch), Abbot of St. Mary of Hailes, touching a debt of £20. Richard Wotton succeeded Whitchurch as Abbot, later in the same year. (Epis. Reg. Worc. Alcock., fol. 52). In 1481, Sir William Whitchurch, parson of North Cerney, brought an action against John Combeck, Abbot of Hailes (1480-83) to recover four marks of rent chargeable on the manor of Batsford, sold by the former Abbot (doubtless his kinsman), William Whitchurch. (Cal. Chanc. Proc. v. 2, B. 62, 441). See Appendix to this Chapter.

PEDIGREE OF BOTELER

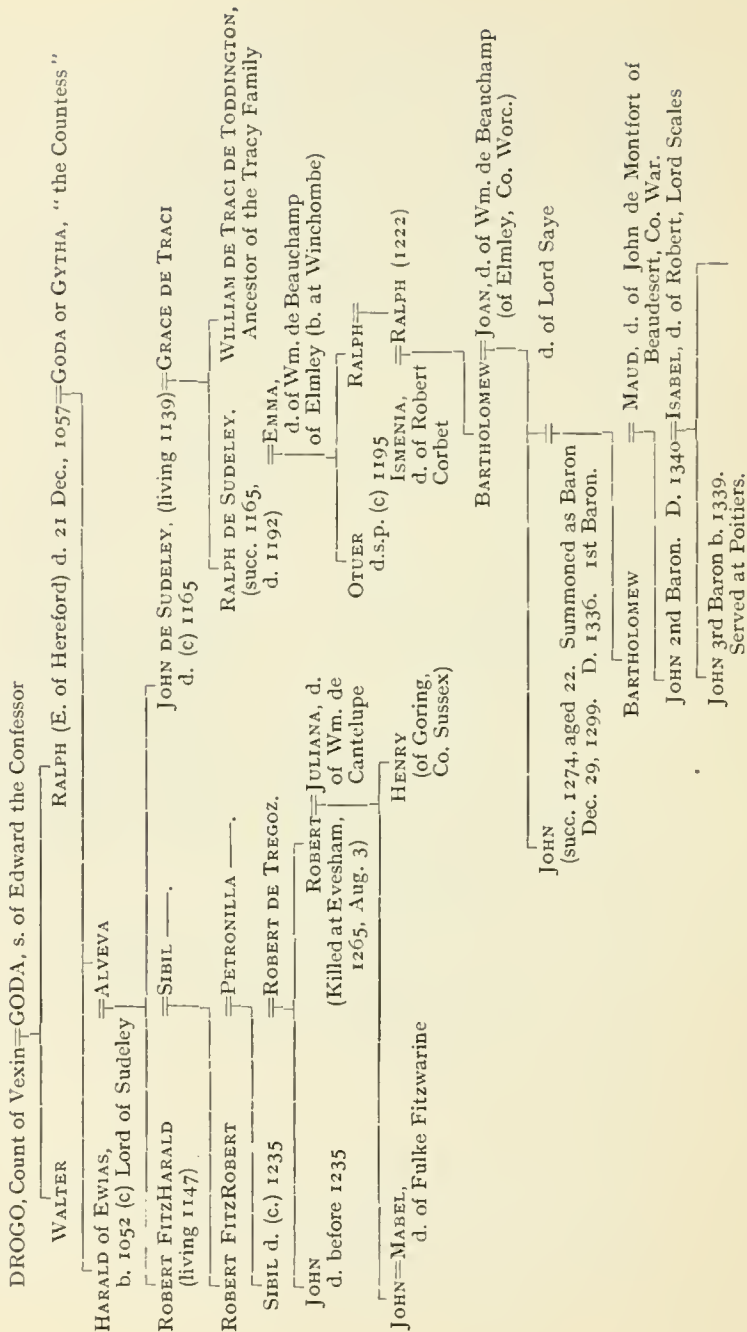
ARMS: Gules, semée of cross-crosslets or, a fess chequy argent and azure.



PEDIGREE OF DE SUDELEY

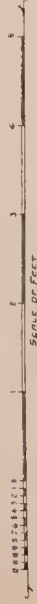
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ARMS: Or, two bendlets gules.

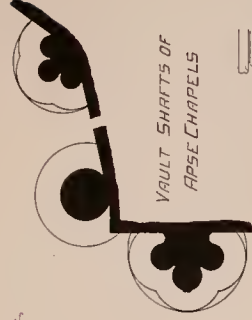


KAYLES ABBEY

DETAILS OF MOLDINGS &



VAULT RIB OF
INFIRMARY



VAULT SHAFTS OF
APSE CHAPELS



DOOR JAMB
FROM CLOISTER
INTO CELLARUM



VAULT RIB OF
CHAPTER HOUSE



CHAPTER
HOUSE
PIER



NAVE
VAULT
RIB

VAULT
RIB



FRAGMENT FROM
WEST DOORWAY



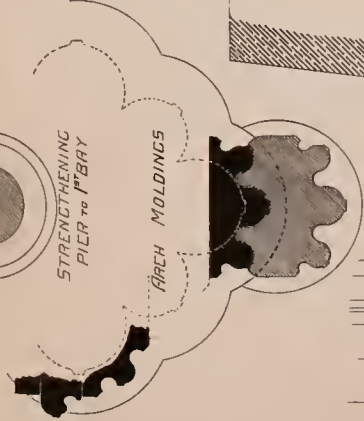
TRANSVERSE
PIERS



DOOR JAMB TO
WARMING HOUSE

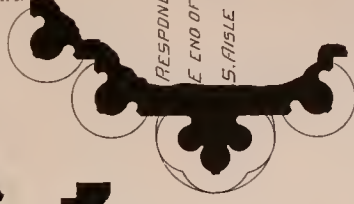


DOOR JAMB
S AISLE

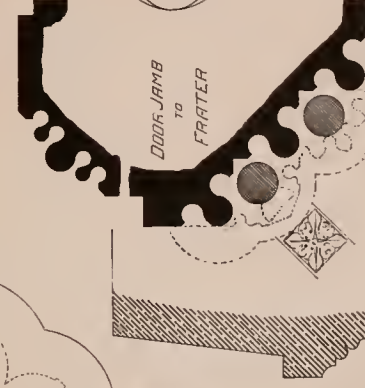


STRENGTHENING
PIER TO I' BAY

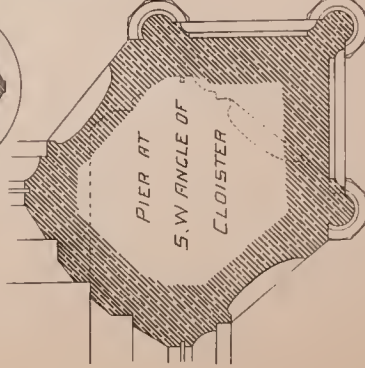
ARCH
MOLDINGS



RESPOND
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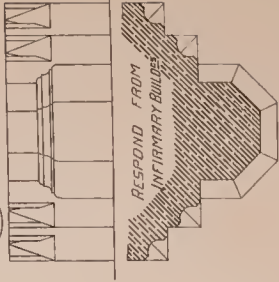
DOOR JAMB
TO
FRATER



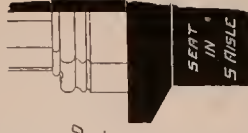
PIER AT
S.W. ANGLE OF
CLOISTER



DOOR JAMB
S.E. CORNER
OF CLOISTER



RESPOND FROM
INFIRMARY BUILDING



SEAT
IN
S AISLE

CHAPTER XII.

THE RETURN OF PROSPERITY.

WITH the accession of Richard III. prosperity had fully returned to Hailes. It is possible (though we have no record of it), that he himself visited Hailes from Sudeley, while on his way from Oxford to Gloucester. From Kenilworth Castle he issued an order for certain repairs to be carried out at Sudeley Castle (June 6th, a. 2.), and another order, for twenty tuns of wine to be distributed between the two castles. (Harl. MS. 433, 2187.)

Richard gave the custody of his new domain, as we have seen to John Huddleston, Esq. (of Melholm, Co. Cumberland), who was knighted later. This individual was already connected with the neighbourhood, inasmuch as his mother Joan, daughter of Sir Miles Stapleton of Ingham, had been the widow of Christopher Harcourt (of Stanton Harcourt), and was mother of the Christopher mentioned before as having held the fee-farm of Pinnockshire. Hence the latter was his half-brother. (Cf. Pedigree, p. 109). The Huddlestons were to become generous patrons of Hailes. The Abbot there at this time was Thomas Stafford (1483-1504), whose rebus (on tiles) has occurred in excavations at the Chapter House, and elsewhere among the remains of his Abbey.

On the death of King Richard at Bosworth Field, his successor gave Sudeley to his own uncle, Jasper, Duke of Bedford, son of Owen Tudor and half-brother to Henry VI. This, however, does not appear to have disturbed the Stewardship of Sir John Huddleston, although Leland states that the Duke '*kept household there.*'

The vaulting-bosses from the west cloister-walk (Fig. 27), found there in 1899 (now in the Museum), display:—

- (1) Fretty, for Huddleston.
- (2) Huddleston impaling Stapleton.*
- (3) Quarterly 1 and 4, fretty for Huddleston; 2 and 3, three bars (should be two) for Harcourt, impaling [argent] a lion rampant

* It is true that the tail of this lion is queued, as if it might belong to arms of the daughter and heiress of Sir Wm. Barrentyne, of Haseley, Co. Oxf. But Anthony Huddleston did not marry her until Hailes was being dismantled; moreover, he did not live here. It is probably a stone-cutter's mistake.

(sable) for Stapleton. [Sir Christ. Harcourt married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Miles Stapleton.]

(4) [Azure] a chain and padlock [at dexter end in chevron] between three mitres; for the Benedictine Abbey of Evesham. These are not represented in the most accurate manner.

(5) Quarterly, 1 and 4 (azure) five fusils in fess (conjoined) Or; for Henry Percy, 3rd Earl of Northumberland; 2 and 3, Or, three bars vert; over all a baton, gules; for Eleanor Poynings, daughter and heiress of Richard Lord Poynings. Henry, Earl of Northumberland died 1461, 29th March, at the battle of Towton.

(6) Quarterly, 1 and 4 [sable] a lion passant gardant [or] between three esquire's helmets [argent] Compton; 2 and 3 [argent] a chevron [vert] within a bordure [azure]; for Sir William Compton (son of Edmund Compton, Esq.) who succeeded Sir John Huddleston as Constable at Sudeley for the Crown (1513), and left 20 marks to Hailes Abbey in his will. He died May 31st, 1528. The lion, as augmentation (probably for conspicuous courage) was granted to him (Dec 13th, a. 4,) by Henry VIII., with whom he was Gentleman of the Body and a personal favourite throughout his life.

It is evident that the heraldic ornamentation of some (if not all) of these west cloister bosses belongs to the latest period of the life of the Abbey, in fact to its last decade.* Work in a small way, therefore, was going forward up to the very time of the Dissolution. It is not necessary to attribute this outlay on the Abbey, at such a date, to any fresh outburst of zeal, or to imagine that the Abbey desired to be found spending its money, or, as some have thought, that it feared robbery. On the whole, the present writer is inclined to attribute it merely to the increase of revenue, and to the paternal piety of Mistress Huddleston. The Abbot, as we shall shew, was Cromwell's personal friend.

The Shrine, which formed the great attraction, brought pilgrims in plenty at this period, as the letter of Latimer to Master Morice, before-quoted, testifies in addition to the words of Leland to the effect that "God daily sheweth miracles through the virtues of that precious Blood."†

Nevertheless, the voices of suspicion, and even of ridicule, were heard, as it were, like delayed echoes of Sir John Oldcastle's

* There can be no reason to suppose that Seymour, or Acton, or Henry Hodgkins, would have decorated any bosses here after the suppression, and with the arms of other families than their own.

† Cf. A little Treatise of Divers Miracles shewed for the portion of Christ's Blood in Hailes. R. Pynson, in Mr A. W. Clifford's Collection at Chestal, Dursley.



Fragments of Chertsey Tile

denunciation of a century before (c.) 1404. One Roger Brown, of Coventry, was served with a summons on a charge of heresy in 1508, for declaring that it was mere folly in anyone to worship the Blood of Hailes; and in 1517 a similar charge was brought, on the evidence of a servant, against Sir John Drury, the vicar of Windrush, to the effect that his Master had in his hearing, declared the 'Blood' to be a fabrication of man, and that he considered he had thrown away eighteen-pence in going to visit it. It is manifest that the reputation of the Relic was being openly and ominously gainsaid.

To 1509 (October 19th) belongs an example of an Indulgence (Fig. 25, 2) granted from the Confraternity of Hailes by Anthony Melton, Abbot, and Thomas Sallay, the Prior of Hailes, to Charles, Lord Herbert of Raglan, K.G., Chamberlain to King Henry VIII., and later (1514) Earl of Worcester, giving him (and his unnamed lady) plenary participation in all spiritual benefits of the Community at Hailes, and wishing him a long life, as well as health to enjoy it. His virtues (it declares) have been sounded by Thomas Cheltenham, Abbot of Winchcombe. There is contained in it reference to the former original Indulgence of John XXIII. designed for helping the restorations of the Abbey buildings. The initial *N* of 'Nos' at the commencement, complimentarily encloses the portcullis of the Beauforts. As tiles attributable to this date, and likewise bearing this badge have been found, we shall be safe in placing their presence here to the credit of this patron.

On December 13th, 1513, William Compton, son of Edmund Compton, was appointed by the King to be Constable of Sudeley Castle, Master of the Hunt, and Park-keeper, with an annuity of £30, to be paid by the Abbot of Winchcombe.* This was due to the retirement from the post through illness of Sir John Huddleston (ob. 1513). We find this same annuity and office surrendered 20th September, 1513, at Oxford.†

In 1521, a still more interesting pilgrim and patron made a state visit to the same Abbot, which lasted some ten days. This

* Who now held Sudeley Manor, but not the Castle.

† Interesting at this point are the following documents relating to the Manor of Sudeley, as separate from the Castle:—

1510, 13 Nov. (a. 2, Hen. VIII.)

To William, Archbishop of Canterbury, to cancel certain Patents to the Abbot of Winchcombe, dated 30th March, and an Indenture dated 1st April, a. 24, Hen. VII., granting the Manor of Sudeley.

1510, Dec. 6th (a. 2, Hen. VIII.) Oxford.

Grant to Richard Kidderminster, Abbot of Winchcombe, of the Manor of Sudeley, formerly granted to Ralph le Boteler and Alice, his wife,

was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who at that time was busy building Thornbury Castle, whence he came to Hailes, before he was to be executed on Tower Hill. His duchess was Alianora Percy, sister of the Earl of Northumberland. The Abbot of Hailes in 1522 gave £100 toward the loan to the King for the recovery of the Crown of France. (Cf. 2483, Brewer, Letters and Papers, p. 1047.)

Sir William Compton* dying May 31st, 1528 (a. 20, Hen. VIII.) left XX. marks to the Abbey of Hailes, in order that an Obit might be said for the King, for the Queen, and for the Lady Anne, for his own soul, and the souls of his family. (Collins, Vol. II., 209). By the Lady Anne was not meant his son's (Peter Compton's) wife, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, but Anne Boleyn, the future Queen.

On the death of Sir John Huddleston, and in accordance with his will, Christopher Urswycke†, the Almoner (formerly) to Henry VII., and the intimate friend of Erasmus, caused to be made 'by a scribe of Erasmus' in Brabant, a fine folio Psalter (of 359 leaves) for Hailes Abbey. This is now in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Wells Cathedral, by whose kindness a leaf of it is reproduced here.‡ (Cf. Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc. Vol. XXVIII., pp. 384-6, 1882. Also Yorks. Archl. and Topogl. Journal, Vol. X., pp. 345-6. 'The Family of Urswick,' 1893).

In 1532, in the list of Wolsey's debts (August 30th) the Abbot of Hailes owes the Cardinal £6. This is Stephen Sagar, the last Abbot, whom Thomas Cromwell had pressed Wolsey to put in. The money was probably the remainder of his fee to the Cardinal.

releasing them from the condition of their indenture with Henry VII., made April 1st, a. 24, Henry VII., by which they undertook to keep Sudeley Park supplied with 300 bucks and does; exonerating them from all annuities due to Sir John Huddleston and others by reason of Patents of Edward IV., Richard III., or Henry VII., and granting them three bucks in summer, and three does in winter, out of Sudeley Park, on the surrender of the Patent dated 30th March, a. 24, Hen. VII., granting them the possessions above mentioned.

* At Christmas (a. 1, Henry VIII.) in 1508, Compton was nearly killed by Sir Edward Neville, during a joust given at Richmond. He retained Henry's marked favour till his death twenty years later. He was a benefactor of Gloucester Abbey, and his rebus (a comb and a tun) may be seen in the lower series of window-heads in the Lady Chapel there. His sister, Elizabeth, married Sir Walter Rodney.

† Erasmus (1448-1522) dedicated three works to him, and he was besides a friend of More, as well as Chaplain and executor to Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Derby. Dean of Windsor, 1495.

‡ Arms of Urswick:—Arg: on a bend sable three lozenges of the first, on each a saltire gules. (Cf. Papworth, p. 250, cols. 1 and 2). Cf. Frontispiece.

PEDIGREE OF HUDDLESTON

 ARMS: Gules, fretty, argent.

JOHN HUDDLESTON OF MEL- HOLM, KT.	==	JOAN, d. and co-heir of Sir Miles Stapleton of Ingham. She married secondly — Christopher Harcourt, Esq.
SIR JOHN HUDDLESTON (ob. 1512— 13, Dec.) (Steward and Bailiff of Sudeley)	==	JOAN, d of Lord Fitzhugh.
SIR JOHN HUDDLESTON, K.B.	==	(Secondly) JOAN, second sister of Sir John Seymour and aunt of Queen Jane Seymour and Seymour of Sudeley.
ANTHONY HUDDLESTON	==	(1541) MARY, d. of Sir William Barrentyne, of Haseley, Co. Oxon.
WILLIAM HUDDLESTON, M.P.	==	MARY, d. (?) of — Bridges, of (?) Keynsham.

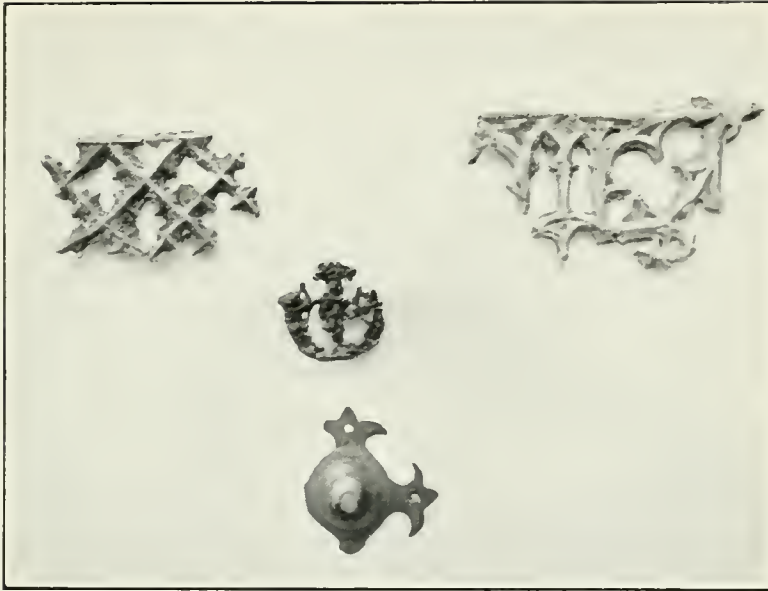
CHAPTER XIII.

THE DISSOLUTION.

IN 1527, Anthony Melton, the Abbot of Hailes, died, and by the personal recommendation of Thomas Cromwell, his place was given to Stephen Sagar, a monk from the Cistercian Abbey of Whalley in Lancashire. Although the Reform movement was rapidly taking an aggressive form, especially with regard to Relics and places of pilgrimage, it did not for some years touch Hailes. In 1533, Latimer, as vicar of Kineton, in Fosse, is found describing to his friend, 'Master Morice,' the multitudes of people whom he viewed trooping along the Fossway in order to visit Hailes; to which reference has already been made. Little did even he foresee how intimately he was to be brought in contact with that Abbey and its perilous Relic.

In the following summer arrived an injunction from Cromwell ordering that the Bible should be read aloud by a secular, and expounded to the brethren. The literature of that moment attests a distinct movement to increase the importance of preaching and instruction. It is the cry of the New Learning against mediæval ignorance. The following letter from the Abbot, in reply (dated August 31st, at Hailes), displays that this novel procedure was not so easily to be accomplished in his convent, even though obediently to be attempted. "I have none of my brethren so perfectly learned that I may put him in trust to read the Scripture to my brethren according to your injunctions, unless I can have some of my scholars from Oxford, which I am loth to do. At my request my friends there sent me this bearer Master Curtis, B.D. of Magdalen College (Oxon). He did read before me and my brethren two or three lessons very substantially; but, as he is not yet sworn to the King's succession and hath not subscribed against the Bishop of Rome, I send him to you for that purpose." Cromwell further ordered the Abbots of Forde and Stanley (Sarum Dioc.) to visit Hailes and certain other Cistercian houses.

FIG. 23.



1 AND 2. LEAD TRACERY. 3. PILGRIM TOKEN (Martyrdom of S. Edmund), XV. C.
4. BOSS FROM A CHOIR-BOOK.



St. C. B.

XV. C. ANGLE-BASE, N.W. OF CLOISTER-WALK

By this time the zealous Latimer had been promoted to be Bishop of Worcester ; and there was another, even Ridley, destined to become in death his companion, who now developed special objection to particular places of pilgrimage and to remarkable, or unique, Relics and images, such as demanded and received an extreme devotion which he and others considered sheer idolatry. Such marked places were Bury St. Edmunds, Boxley, Walsingham, Ely, and Hailes.

While concurring in his friend Cromwell's scheme to appoint secular Readers, the Abbot soon realized that it was a measure calculated to complicate monastic affairs, already overshadowed with peculiar solicitude. For, to the faithful monks in many monasteries, it was in that summer as though, when looking down into the cracks of the grass-plots in their cloisters, they became aware that beneath their feet was a consuming fire. Thinking at least to appoint his own Secular, he procured from Magdalen College, Oxford, the above Curtis. Meanwhile, at Winchcombe, bitterly to the chagrin of the Chapter of that Abbey, the local curate, Anthony Saunders, no friend at all to it, was selected at the same time "to read the pure and sincere word of God to the monks there"; otherwise, inevitably, to espy, and report, and annoy. Such a scheme, however meritorious in its primary intention of raising the tone of education in the monasteries, was fraught with natural temptations to abuse, from which there would seem to have been little or no attempt on the part of its devisers to guard it.

The Abbot of Hailes himself preached to his monks ; while he likewise sent Curtis to Winchcombe to hear what Saunders had to say to the brethren there. This proved not at all to the liking of the latter preacher. He wrote to Cromwell :—"The Abbot of Hailes, a valiant soldier under Antechrist's banner, resists much, fighting with all his might to keep Christ in the sepulchre. He has hired a great Goliath, a subtle *Duns* man, a great clerk, as he saith, a bachelor of divinity of Oxford, to catch me in my sermons." He also complained that the monks of Winchcombe (*i.e.*, the better disciplined ones), "will not come in due time ; they set so much store by their Popish services." (Cf. Cal. S.P. Hen. VIII., Vol. IX., pp. 321-2 and 747). He begs Cromwell to command for him an hour in the forenoon in which he (Saunders) might be driven in like a wedge between the Mass and Sext, and thus be forcibly listened to.

On November 2nd, 1535, he further certifies Cromwell with regard to two sermons which he and the bearer, and many more have lately heard the Abbot preach at Hailes, concerning which sermons Saunders evidently had uttered his protest. He relates that the Abbot had stated that Cromwell had sent him to Hailes, and Cromwell would maintain him there. "He causes a tumult in the country (there) of gentlemen and other people hired thereto."

Saunders, apparently, wrote also to Latimer, Bishop of the Diocese, about Hailes, and sent him a report of one of Curtis's sermons. Cromwell thereupon sent to Curtis at Hailes ordering him to come up to London to be interviewed by himself.

Latimer, accordingly, who was primed by the hostile curate, as his phrase shows, wrote to Cromwell. "As you have summoned Master Coottes (Curtis) who preached at Hailes, I send you his sermon; not as he spoke it, if his hearers be reported true, but as he has modified it since he heard that he would be examined for it. You will, perhaps, not judge it to be everywhere well-pondered. He seems well studied in Master Moore's (Sir Thomas) books, and to have formed him a conscience somewhat according to them. He seems to stick stiffly to unwritten verities. I would fain hear him tell who be those new fellows that would approve no science but grammar. As far as I can learn he is wilily witted; *Duns-ly* learned; *Moore-ly* affected; bold, not a little; zealous, more than enough." He proceeds to beg Cromwell to admonish, charm, and so reform him, or else, inhibit him the Diocese and send down another in his place.*

Cromwell, who had visited Hailes† previously, probably came thither himself now for the second time. He was too much personally attached to Stephen Sagar to be easily alienated from him by priestly insinuation, such as that in Latimer's cautiously-worded letter. The campaign of 'visiting and vexing' was deliberate, and Hailes could not by any means be omitted from its area as a protected spot; but Latimer and Saunders felt they must be careful not to offend Cromwell while stabbing at his Abbot.

On January 28th, 1536, the Abbot writes to Cromwell from Hailes;—"At your last being here you bade me show you what I needed. I beg your dispensation for the five articles inclosed and Dr. Gwent shall deliver you a poor token from me in recompense.

* Cf. Cleop. E. V. No. 363, B.M.

† Hence the name applied to a spot near Hailes, Cromwell's Tump.

Since then the number of my brethren is sore decayed. I have buried three. Two more are sick, and I have three at Oxford at Divinity. I beg that I may take in more to help the choir. I have a disease yearly* at the fall of the leaf and in Spring, so that if I may not lie in a clear air, it will cost me my life. The churches and chapels where my brethren have served is according to (the terms of) our old grants. "Apparently, he had been complained of for living up at Coscombe outside the Abbey, on the Hill, and it was a time when every little mistranslatable action on the part of the superiors of convents became the subject of eloquent diatribes framed without difficulty to justify dissolution and confiscation. Layton and Leigh, (Henry VIII.'s Commissioners), at this very moment, were visiting the northern monasteries, and the glories of Cistercian Furness and of Whalley (the scene of Sagar's own youthful training), were rapidly approaching total eclipse. But, behind all the ferment of cruel pettiness, behind the lust for possession and plunder, behind the intolerant radicalism, the narrow, if high-minded, conservatism, beneath all the ugly excellences, the unrelenting virtues, and the blind devotion, there was moving abroad an irresistible force, scarcely to be fully realized in its significance by even the greatest and most far-seeing statesmen of the time, a force which was to introduce an age which could make a Shakespere possible instead of a Dante, and an England free to develop her beneficent potentialities for the good of the whole world, instead of continuing checked at every turn by the power of Spain, or paralysed by that of a Rome, more corrupt and still more pagan than it had been, even under the early Emperors. In considering this invincible force, Henry VIII. himself does not matter extremely, far less do his personal misdeeds, or those of his time-serving ministers. These must be reckoned merely as unhandsome accidents of administration; evil stepping-stones to higher and better national conditions.

In March, 1536, the Act of Dissolution became passed by Parliament, and the Royal Receivers began sweeping in the spoils. A Court of Augmentations (April 24th, 1536), (of which we shall hear more), had been formed in order to account to the Sovereign for all rents and proceeds of monastic sales. The lesser Houses, the incomes of which amounted to less than £200 a year, fell before them first; and at this point commenced the active and hateful

* Ague.

careers of a number of the professional inquisitors, or detectives, called Commissioners. They were appointed by Cromwell, to whom their attitudes were those of fawning flunkys. Leigh, Layton, London and Ap Rice were the principal ones ; and on the whole, it may be doubted whether Father Gasquet has done them any injustice by terming them "obscene, profligate, and perjured." From them Cromwell received both suspicious presents and visitation fees. The former were portions of bribes received by them from victims.

The various risings in the North, and presently at Exeter, added to the insecurity of the country, and in autumn (Oct. 12th) of this year Cromwell writes to Abbot Sagar "to keep watch and apprehend seditious persons and strong vagabonds who may be scattered abroad." On June 18th, the Abbot had written him :—

"I have fulfilled your wish that Robert Hopper should occupy one of our Farms called 'Longbarrowe.' If I might be so bold I would request you would moderate your injunctions, 'by my poor arbitrament' ; and then, if anything was amiss it would be upon my jeopardy. I find it necessary sometimes to release some of them. You can withdraw the liberty at any time."

Among Sagar's important but not friendly neighbours at Hailes, was Mr Richard Tracy of Stanway, a member consequently of the ancient family which had been already possessed of lands hereabouts since the reign of Henry I. Born (c.) 1505, he was the second son of William Tracy of Toddington and Margaret Throckmorton (p. 151). He married Barbara, daughter of Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote. His bent towards religion is shewn by the fact that in 1548 he published 'a brief and short declaration whereby every Christian man may know what is a Sacrament' (8vo., 16 leaves). An earlier treatise (c.) 1540, of 52 leaves (8vo.) is entitled "Faith only justifieth. Gathered and set forth by R. Tracy" (London). This tendency, together with his local influence, seemed to point him out to the Court of Augmentation as a possibly useful ally ; and he became an active Commissioner. Another tendency in him, namely, toward the use of polemical methods, led him rather further, and we shall later on find him in the place perilous. His son, afterwards Sir Paul Tracy, built the present beautiful house and gateway at Stanway. (Fig. 31).

A pathetic touch is now added to our acquaintance with this last Abbot of Hailes. In February, 1537, during the second rising in the North, a messenger with letters from the ill-fated Abbot

of Whalley (Co. Lancs.) by name William Rede,* a baker of Oxford, was arrested at Wootton-Wawen (Co. Warwick), and placed under guard in Kenilworth Castle. He related, in examination, that the Abbot of Whalley had bidden him especially to commend himself to the Abbot of Hailes, and acquaint him "that I am sore stopped and acrazed; and pray him to send me word when he purposeth to come over to this country (Sagar himself was from Yorkshire), for I would be glad to see him once more ere I depart out of this world, *seeing I brought him up here, from a child.*" Sagar, therefore, had been a novice at Whalley Abbey.

The affectionate wish was not to be gratified. The Abbot of Whalley was hanged by the Earl of Sussex, as a traitor, on March 10th-12th.

Cromwell's favour to Sagar suffered no diminution, and he now advanced him to be Chaplain to the King. On hearing this, Latimer wrote to the minister:—"As for my Lord of Hailes, I fear (he) will be too cookett (sic) now, with his great authority and promotion. His friends can jest upon such a bishop that can with complaining promote, and would he should complain more, but I wot what I intended. Let those jest at large."†

This enigmatical letter may be interpreted favourably, or unfavourably, to the writer of it. In the following month (August 18th) Richard Tracy gave Cromwell information that Dr Smythe, a priest, had prayed in the Church of St. Lawrence at Evesham, in public for the Abbots of Evesham, Hailes, and Winchcombe and Abingdon (to which Dumbleton belonged). The witnesses were Richard Love, and five more, and the letter was signed by Richard Tracy, Walter Walshe, and Wm. Robinson.

Public attention was being now carefully directed (we can shrewdly guess by whom), to the 'Blood of Hailes,' and a story had already gotten into circulation to the effect that it was periodically renewed with drake's blood. On the 24th February, 1538, John Hilsey, the Dominican, appointed Grand Visitor of the Abbeys, and now Bishop of Rochester, while superintending the destruction of the Rood at Boxley, denounced 'the Blood of Hayles.' Latimer drove the Abbot into resorting to London to personally interview Cromwell, to whom the Abbot wrote from his lodging, as follows:—

"I am come hither for three causes. First: to thank your Honour for your great goodness ever since I first saw you. Second:

* Cf. Chapter-House Book A₂₃, p. 134.

† July 21st, 1537.

to thank God that I live in this time of light and knowledge of his true honour, so sincerely set forward by the King that I can now 'away with the Truth,' which I had never come to if I had not had liberty to read Scripture in English. I am anxious to put aside everything that seems to favour superstition; and hence the third part of my errand is as follows; your Honour knows that in the Monastery of Hailes is a Blood which has been reputed a miracle for a great season. I am perplexed; not wishing to put it away of mine own authority, but fearing, as it has been shown there to such as seek for it, lest I should condemn myself to be guilty in misusing of it, as changing and renewing it with drake's blood. I am willing to suffer the most shameful death if ever it was renewed with my knowledge, and there is one monk nearly eighty years old, who has kept it almost forty years, and will make the same answer. I beg you to send thither a commission to examine* the matter. It is there still, as far as ever I can learn or know, as it was brought to this."

Cromwell received him, and bestowed fresh marks of favour. The expenses of the journey were evidently costly. For, Latimer a little later (August 25th), wrote thanking Cromwell for his kindness to Mr Evans, the bearer of his letter, and said that he is being told "that the bluddy" Abbot said among his brethren, that his last coming up to London, by Latimer's occasioning, cost him, besides the expenses of his journey, £140; so that he was not able to make household provision for it, and required the best mitre, the best cross, and another thing or two to make chevance withal for provision. All the jewels of the House may thus be survayed (sic) away without Cromwell's knowledge."!

The Abbot, however, writes (June 17) to Cromwell giving him thanks for his goodness to the Monastery. He says he has received Cromwell's letters by Mr John Nashe in his favour, for the farm of Pinnock, which the Monastery holds in fee-farm from the King. This would compel him to restrict his hospitality, and he hopes Nashe himself is satisfied, *i.e.*, perhaps he contented Nashe by some other gift.

Richard Layton, the Commissioner, had interviewed the Abbot while in London; and his letter to Cromwell informs us that he had bound the Abbot of Hailes in a sum of £500 from the day of his leaving London "to alienate no moveables and to make no grant

* Cf. Hearne's *Benedict. Abbas Petrob.* Vol. 2, p. 71; also Vol. 13, pt. 1, p. 119. S.P. Hen. VIII. a. 29. See p. 120.

FIG. 24 (a).



ABBEY OF SAN GALGANO, SIENA

under the Convent Seal from the day of his Privy Surrender forwards," and so sent him home.*

The following letter from the Abbot to Cromwell speaks for itself as to a change in the attitude of the former towards the Relic:—

"Pleasith hit youre Honor, aftyr my most humble dewty, with immortal thanks for youre inestymable goodnes towarde me ever att my nede, to be advertysed that where hit is so that the case where that faymyd relycke callyd 'the Bloode' was in doth stande as yet in the place there styll, as hit was in manner and fasshion of a Shryne, so that I am aferde lest hit shulde mynistre occasyon to any weke person, lokinge thereupon, to abuse his conscyens therwith; and, therefore, I do be seche you to be so good Lorde unto me as to give me lycens that I may putt hit downe, every styck and stone, so that no maner of tokyn or remembrans of that forged Relycke shall remayne there during the tyme that hit shall please God, our soveregne Lorde the King's Majesty and your good Lordeshipe that this pore Howse may stande. And as towching the valor of the sylver and golde that is therein, I thynck hit is not worth XLli, scant XXXli., by estymacion, wherein hit may please your Lordeshipe to geve credyt to this berer, and by the same to lett me know your pleasure in the premysses, beseching yow most humbly to contynew my goode Lorde, as ye have ever byn, and to accept this pore tokyn whiche I do send yow att this time, a strange pece of golde. And this the blessyde Lorde of Hevyn longe preserve your lyf and helth to his pleasure. Amen. Att. Heiles, the XXIII. daye of Septembre [1538.]

"Your most boundyn bedsman

"Stephyn, Abbat there

"To my most especiall good Lorde

My Lorde Privy Seale."

It would seem that a design emanated, possibly from Cromwell's intelligence, though more probably from Sagar's affection for Hailes, to turn the Abbey into a College. It was, however, short-lived. [Cf. Cal. Dom. S. P. 1538, No. 488].

The Commissioners had already marked out this year for the suppression of all the Shrines, and their agents were ordered to demolish 'Shrine and bones' wheresoever found, "with all

* "On Friday last I came to Harrow, and yesterday went into the fields, and I send you by my servant, the bearer, such birds as I killed with my hawk, videlicet three pheasants."

ornaments of the Shrine belonging, and all other relics, silver, gold, and all jewels belonging, and to see that the Shrine and the place where it was kept be destroyed even to the ground." Such a work they could not delegate to the Abbot himself. Accordingly on October 28th they attacked Hailes, and spared nothing. "We have had from that House right honest sorts of jewels, plate, ornaments, and money, besides the garnishing of a small Shrine wherein was reposed the counterfeit Relic of times past ; which all we do reserve unto the King's Highness use." (MS. Cott. Cleop. E. IV., fol. 2546).

"We have viewed a certain supposed Relic called the Blood of Hailes which was enclosed within a round Beryl, garnished and bound on every side with silver, which we caused to be opened in the presence of a great multitude of people, being within a little glass ; and also tried the same, according to our powers, wits and discretions, by all means, and by force of the view, and other trials thereof, we think, deem, and judge, the substance and matter of the said supposed Relic to be an unctuous gum coloured, which being in the glass appeared to be glistening red, resembling partly the colour of blood, and after, we did take our part of the said substance and matter out of the glass, then it was apparent glistening yellow colour, like amber, or base gold, and doth cleave to as gum or bird-lime." (Latimer's Certificate, dated Oct. 28th, 1538 : signed also by Henry Holbech, Prior of Worcester ; Stephen, Abbot of Hailes ; and Richard Tracy, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire.)

To Cromwell, Latimer ('At Haylles') wrote further (MS. Cott. 2 Ser. XLIX., 487, orig.) :—"We have been boulding and sifting the blood of Hayles all this forenoon. It was wondrously closely and craftily inclosed and stopped up for taking of care. And it cleaveth fast to (the) bottom of the little glass that it is in. And verily it seemeth to be an unctuous gum and compound of many things. It hath a certain unctuous moistness, and though it seem somewhat like blood while it is in the glass, yet when any parcel of the same is taken out it turneth to a yellowness, and is cleaving like glue.* But we have not yet examined all the monks. And therefore this my brother Abbot shall tell your lordship what he

* "It cleaves like gum or bird-lime. We have inclosed it in red wax, sealed with our seals, and locked it in a coffer, remaining by indenture with the Abbot." The key of the coffer was given to Richard Tracy till the King's pleasure about the matter should be known. This letter was signed by Latimer, Henry, Prior of Worcester, Stephen, Abbot of Hailes, and Richard Tracy ; their four seals being attached. Cf. second letter of same date.

hath seen and heard in that matter. And in the end your Lordship shall know all together. But we perceive not by your Commission whether we shall send it up or leave it here, or certify thereof as we know." October 29th. "At Haills."

"To the Right Honourable, and his singular good Lord, the Lord Privy Seal."

The Relic* was finally handed over to Mr Richard Tracy (of Stanway) and was despatched by him to London on November 16th, 1538. That was all that the Commissioners could make out of its composition.

But the fame of their examination of it naturally went forth, and each curious tale-bearer accordingly adorned his narrative with varied, or fresh, details, nearly sufficient (if all were collected) to fill a small volume.

That Henry VIII. and his Council viewed the phial and discussed it, is proven by the statement of John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, who preached at Paul's Cross (Nov. 24th, 1538), declaring it to be "no blood, but honey clarified and coloured with saffron, as it had evidently been proved before the King and Council."

From these personal and searching testimonies of the responsible Commissioners down to the later testimonies and statements of other and irresponsible ones, is a leap into the hot-bed of scandal and calumny. King Henry himself seems to have remained specially hard to persuade concerning the non-genuineness of the Relic. This is shown by Latimer's own words used in a sermon preached later on before Edward VI. :—"What became of this blood that fell down, trow ye? Was the Blood of Hayles of it? Woe worth it! What ado was it to bring this out of the King's head! This great abomination of the Blood of Hayles could not be taken a great while out of his mind . . . unpreaching prelates have been the cause that the Blood of Hailes did so long blind the King. Woe worth it that so abominable thing should be in a Christian realm!

* "A little Treatise of Divers Miracles which God hath shewed for the portion of his Precious Blood in Hayles." Pinson, 8vo.

Mr F. A. Hyett and Canon Bazeley describe it as consisting of an engraved title-page with remains of the above title printed at the top, and an illustration of the Chalice containing the Blood, with an Angel on either side, and below a King with two followers, and an Abbot with three monks, adoring. There are altogether ten leaves, including the title. The latter seems to be continued on pages 2 and 3, and the text is on pages 4—20. Pinson's first dated book appeared in 1493. He died in 1529-30. Cf. *Manual of Glouc. Literature*, Vol. 2, p. 202.

Cf. also Benedictus Abbas Petrob. Edit. Th. Hearne, Oxf., 1735, pp. 751—763.

But thanks to God, it was partly redressed in the King's days that dead is, and much more now ! ”*

This is already eight years after. At the same period, one William Thomas, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI., declared that two monks “ every Saturday killed a duck, and renewed therewith the consecrate blood, as they themselves confessed, not only in secret, but also openly before an approved audience.” (MS. Bodl. N.E.B. 2-7.) They may have (as he says so) declared this ; but we can only say that the careful statements of the Commissioners themselves do not at all bear out their declaration, neither does that of the Bishop of Rochester, but the story was corroborated by another so-called confession by which the wife of a miller at Didbrook declared that “ she knew all about it,” since the venerable custodian of the Relic had been her paramour. Variations of the same calumnies will be found in John Fox, ‘ Acts and Monuments,’ vol. 2, p. 431. Burnet, *Hist. Reformn.* i. 243. Fuller, *Church History*, lib. VI., p. 333. Herbert, *Henry VIII.*, pp. 431-2. Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* 2, 149. According to some the Blood was invisible to a man who had committed mortal sin ; to others the crystal containing it was thick on one side of it, and thin elsewhere. The Relic may not have been what it professed to be, and its nature was, it is evident, considered uncertain by the highest ecclesiastical inquisitioners of the moment, but we can place no confidence whatever in sensational statements made at the time of the Dissolution, and after that, as to what its nature really was.

Sagar was sent for to London by Cromwell and there made a private surrender of his Abbey of Hailes.† He then returned to obtain the consent of his Convent.

The enmity of Richard Tracy toward the Abbot comes out unpleasantly in a letter written (c.) April, 1539, to Robert Acton, Sheriff of Worcestershire, an individual destined to obtain the first lease of Hailes Abbey and therefore, even as Tracy himself, (who was looking eagerly for that of Winchcombe,) an interested party. He tells him he (Tracy) is sorry to see the King and his Council favour such an enemy he has in the Abbot of Hailes. For, being sworn the King's Chaplain he most falsely deceives him to the

* Ridley's objections to Shrine-worshipping (it will be recollected), of course, included Hailes. (Cf. “ A Commentary in Englyshe upon the Ephesians,” 1540, Sig. A. ii.)

† “ He did surrender his house with such discreet and frank manner, as we have seen no other do better in all our journey.” (Cromwell, *Corresp.* XX. 15, Wright, *Supp. Mon.* p. 237.)

value of no less than £500. He gives out that he is a bailiff to the King and will not part with or sell anything to his disprofit. If he has surrendered, the King is entitled to all his lands and goods whereof he has made as good a hand as ever did the wicked bailiff in Luke c. XVI. This may become an occasion of great disturbance. He also tells the prospective owner, "the Abbot tills no pulse land. This year it will bear no corn."

With date of December 23rd, 1539, there is extant, "Memoranda of certain leases under the Convent Seal of Winchcombe of the Demesnes to Richard Tracy, and of the fee-farm of Sudeley Manor to John Stratford."

The grabbers are now in earnest, and it is sad to note that Cromwell received petitions from Richard Salwaye begging to have Francombe Court, late belonging to the Abbey of Winchcombe, and Goscombe (Coscombe) "now in the occupation of the Abbot of Hayles."*

On December 24th, 1539, Abbot Sagar, already rewarded with a Royal Chaplaincy, openly surrendered Hailes to Dr London and his fellow-Commissioners, and its value was declared to be £357 7s. 8½d. per annum. (Hen. VIII., XV. No. 139, IV.) Robert Southwell, Edward Carne, and Dr London, found the Father† and all his brethren very honest and conformable persons, and the house clearly out of debt. . . . It is in the custody of Mr Acton. The plate, and garnishing of the Shrine are reserved for the King. The Father had his house and grounds so well furnished with jewels, plate, stuff, corn, cattle, and the woods also so well saved, as though he had looked for no alteration of his house. We have despatched Hailes and Winchcombe, and will go next to Tewkesbury. (Wright, Supp. of Monasteries, Camden Soc. 236-7). With

* Richard Tracy to Cromwell (August 24th, 1539) :—

"If the Convent of Winchcombe surrender, which some think they are minded to do, Richard Tracy wishes to have the Mansion Place, with the houses of Office and Garden, either for rent or purchase, as he has no dwelling with any tillage. He has taken from the Abbot and Convent of Winchcombe by the Convent Seal, all their demesnes, with barns and implements of husbandry, for £40 yearly, according to the extent in the King's Records of the Valuation of Monasteries."

No wonder that Latimer previously wrote to Cromwell, "he wished there were many like Mr Tracy." He also urged the Minister to stimulate the Abbot and Convent to grant what they could to Mr Tracy without conditions "as he is given to good hospitality and is always ready to serve the King on Commissions and in other ways." Jan. 18th, 1539.

† John Hilsey had been a Dominican Superior.

him were twenty-one monks and the Prior, and seventy servants. (Augment. Office Bk. 494, fol. 70). One of these was Otho Sagar, the Abbot's brother, beside whose body at Warmfield, near Hailfax (where some time he was Vicar), he now rests in peace.

"I, Otho Sagar, bequeath my body to be buried in the Parish Church of Warmfield, next to my brother, and ye stones which do cover us two shall be joined together with a plate, with these words:—

'We be two brethren. I pray you let us rest.

'Stephen Sagar, sometime ye Abbot of Hayles, and Otho Sagar, Vicar of this Church.' " Will dated Feb. 14th, 1558.*

Netley and Beaulieu had been suppressed respectively in February, 1537, and April 2nd, 1538.

Meantime, Abbot Sagar was granted £100 a year in pension, together with (for his life) the mansion-house above Hailes, at Coscombe, and its garden, and forty loads of firewood yearly. He had told Cromwell, his good friend (as before mentioned), that he suffered from ague in living at Hailes in April and September every year. The field certainly possesses a relaxing climate, and, owing to the pool above it, is peculiarly subject during summer to a plague of flies, which breed there.

Otho Sagar received an annuity of £4. Annuities going out of Hailes amounted to £17 3s. 4d., and pensions granted, to £63. Twenty-one monks received £106 13s. 4d. between them.

ANNUITIES. ("Granted by the late Religious.")

	s.	d.	
Edward Draycote	XXVI.	VIII	
William Tracye	XL.		
Thomas Sherley	XXVI.	VIII.	Elizabeth Huddleston (Widow, chief pensioner)
Thomas Trussel	L.		
William Popeley	XL.		
Anthony Kingston	IIII.		(Known as Sir Anthony Kingston.)

* Cf. Vol. XVI., Dom. Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., p. 26

FIG. 24 (b).



ABBEY OF SAN GALGANO, SIENA

Fifteen years later, in 1553, were remaining £17, in charge in annuities, and the

PENSIONS

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Farr (Cellarer) ..	VI.	VI.	VIII.
John Sylvester (Kitchener)	VI.	VI.	VIII.
John Griffith	VI.		
Richard Eden, B.D. ..	VII.		
Reginald Lane		C.	
Adam Tyler		C.	
William Netherton ..		C.	
Thomas Hopkins		CVI.	VIII.
Richard Woodward ..		C.	
Roger Reade, B.D. ..	VII.		
Thomas Reade*		C.	
Elizei (? Elisha) Dugdale ..		LIII.	III.
Christopher Hodgeson ..		LIII.	III.
John Dawson, B.D. ..	VIII.		
Philip Brode, B.D. ..	VIII.		
William Choo (Sen.) ..	VI.		

Signed :

Robert Southwell
Richard Gwent
John London
John Ap Rice
Richard Poulet
William Berners

Hailes had now passed into the King's hands.

From the Treasurer's Rolls of Accounts, a. 31-32, Hen. VIII., No. 3, we extract the following :—" William Fisher, bailiff of the King, has received from Hayles Manor, together with the Hamlets of Didbrook, Coscombe, and ' Pynnockeskerne ' and all its belongings in lands, receipts, etc., £79 16s. 11d.

" Anthony Aylworth, bailiff of Gloucester."

On August 1st, 1540, we find a grant of the chief messuage or mansion-house, late called the " Abbottes Lodgyng " in Coscombe (Glos.) and lands belonging to the late monastery of Hailes,

* This is probably the same who in 1579 was a prisoner in the Marshalsea Prison. (Cf. Landsdown, M.S. 28, f. 96).

in Coscombe and Magna Wormington, with all tithes upon the premises, with reservation of certain meadows, etc., to Robert Acton. (Cf. Patent, p. 7, m. 32, at Westminster.)

A little later the Commissioners of the Augmentation Court sat in council with regard to the structures of the noble Abbey; and the following represents their decree:—

“ Houses and buyldyngs assigned to remayne undefaced.
The late Abbott's lodgyng extendyng from ye Church
to ye Frayter southward with Payntre, buttre, kitchen,
larder, sellers, and the lodgynges over ye same.”

(Augm. Office Bk. 494, p. 67)

Hence, it is certain that in latter days of the Abbey the Abbots lived in the ‘Cellarium,’ converted to their use since the time when the lay-brothers, as the sub-caste section of the Convent, had ceased to be, and the menial and domestic work in it was performed by paid servants.

The silence that now had fallen upon Hailes and Winchcombe was presently intensified by the removal from both Abbey Churches of their bells. Winchcombe had eight, while Hailes owned five. The only bell left at Hailes was the fourteenth century bell of the Parish Church, in its bell-cote.* We hear of the Abbey bells in 1555 in the following document:—

“ Leade given and granted by the King's letters patents:—
Henry Hoskyns [? Hodgkins] Esquire and Thomas Watson, gent., for the belles of the late Monastery of Hailes in the Countie of Glouc. by them alleged to be delivered to th'inhabitants of the towne of Stratford upon avon in the Countie of Warr. by force of warrants from the lorde Treasurer of England which belles being in nombre V. amount in weight to XVJml. IIJc. IIb.”

Of the lead, part of it was taken by the Lords Commissioners, doubtless that which had covered the Church, dorter, and Infirmary (and of the melting of which much evidence has been already referred to, as having been met with in 1900), and part was left remaining and this was given later by Edward VI. to William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, upon the attainder of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, to whom with 500 acres (valued at £65 14s. 8d.) Hailes had been granted in fee by his Royal nephew, August 19th (a. 1. Ed. VI.), 1547, upon his marriage with Queen Katherine Parr.

* The inscription around this Bell (interrupted by a hole), reads thus:—
+ VIRGO MARIA + TRANSMUNDI MARIA NOS D—— Diameter of Bell 25 c.m.

The Land Revenue Bundle, 1392, File 57, No. 1 (1556) gives these following items :—

(1) “ Of the leade of the said monasterie of Hailes in the saide Countie of Glouc. amounting in weight to (CXIX. ff.”

(2) (Appendix F.) “ To William, Lord Marques of Northampton, for the leade of the late monasteries of Hailes and Winchcombe, in the Countie of Glouc., left remg. upon the House ther whiche were afterwards graunted to the saide Lorde Marques by letters patents our late soveraigne lorde Kinge Edward the VIth. CCXL. ff.”

On January 4th, 1542, depositions were taken at Winchcombe before Sir John Bridges, Richard Tracy (of Stanway), and John Stratford (of Farmcott), by commission of the Court of Augmentation, concerning spoils done at the late dissolved monastery of Hailes, by a great number of people as to articles which they had carried away from the Abbey (or which they knew others to have carried away), and which had been bought by the servants of Mr Robert Acton. The articles were glass, lead, locks, hinges, woodwork, etc., and the sums paid for them were small. One of the first witnesses deposes that he heard two men say that they had heard another say that he had said to Mr Acton at London as they rowed in a boat over Thames toward Southwark, that two of Mr Acton's servants had sold iron and lead ; also, that a serving-woman told him that she saw one come one night from Hailes to her master's house (at Coscombe) with certain locks. She said to her master, “ Alas, why do you receive thus this stuff ? ” and he replied, “ Hold thy peace, for it is there now : *Catch that may catch !* ”

Among the deponents are the parsons of Battashore (*i.e.*, Batsford) and Condicote, both bearing the name of Nicholas Wike, and probably the same individual ; Kenelm Deane, parson of Staunton, and men of Stow St. Edward, Langborough, Condicote, Toddington, etc.

The certificate of Nicholas Wyke, parson of Batsford, of the amount of glass he bought ; another, by Ralph Perse, one of the deponents, as to articles bought by him in January and February, a. 31, Henry VIII. (1540).

The Commissioners add an item :—

“ There be many divers spoils *daily done* within the said late monastery to a great substance over and above these above-written ; but by whom, as yet it is not known. John Brydges ; Richard Tracy ; John Stratford.”

This needs no comment.

On March 24th, 1542, Hailes Abbey was granted to one Richard Andrews, who was called Constable of Hailes,* and a great dealer in Abbey lands in many counties, and we find him in November of the same year alienating a field at Stanley Pontlarge, in the tenure of John Mason, which had belonged to Hailes Abbey. To him also were leased the Rectories of Didbrook and Hailes. His lease was cancelled March 12th, 1543. But he obtained a fresh one for forty-one years, March 26th, 1544, including the monastery with its customary tenants in Didbrook and Hailes, "and its woods in Pinnock *skern* and *shire*." (Bk. of the Court of Augns., 1036, 36b.) In the same year he leased the Abbot's lodging, or mansion of Coxcombe, with certain lands there in the tenure of William Whytford to Anthony Darston (Dastyn), (id. 690, No. 67, p. 419). Abbot Sagar, who must have left Coscombe this year, paid no less than £66 13s. 4d. as 'aid' to the King. The reason of these rapid changes in the lease of Hailes itself is to be found in the fact that the Fee of its site and demesnes became granted to Katherine Parr upon her marriage with the King in 1543, as part of her dowry.

To the Seymours, under their royal nephew Edward VI., went chantries and advowsons throughout England. Consequently tithes were paid to Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, not merely from Dumbleton, Pinnock, Rowell, Hawling, Postlip, and Southam, but from Tewkesbury, Painswick, Lidney, etc.: and to support his fresh honours, he was given nineteen manors in this county, including Sudeley, where he afterwards lived with Queen Katherine Parr (the sister of the above 'Lord Marques'), in the days when there was "a praty lake which cummeth out of Sudeley Parke down by the castle and into Essebourne [Isburne] brook along the south side of Winchcombe," noticed earlier in the same stormy century by honest Leland.

Northampton had no sooner been given the fee of Hailes than he leased it (June 16th, 1550), to Henry Hodgkins for twenty-one years for the sum of £159 16s. 8d., woods, royalties, etc., excepted. He lived there in the Abbot's house. Owing, presumably, to the validity of his lease being called in question, Queen Elizabeth granted him a new lease for twenty-one years for the same sum, July 18th, a. 7 (1565).

The Huddleston family continued living at its new mansion at Southam, not (as Leland formerly had said, by mistake), however, as lords of that Manor. Such they were not at any period.

* That is he was keeper for the Crown to whom the Manor had reverted

Probably its builder, Sir John (younger son of the former Steward of Sudeley, and of Joan, daughter of Lord FitzHugh), decorated it with tiles and other before-mentioned spoils taken from ruining Hailes. He died in 1547, leaving by Joan (his second wife), daughter of Sir John Seymour, Kt., and first cousin to Lord Seymour of Sudeley, Elynor, his heiress to Southam, and to his lands in Prestbury, Brockhampton, and Woodmancote. His house in Winchcombe, however, went to his daughter, Anne (= Ralph Latus,* Esq.).

Elynor Huddleston married Kenard Delabere, Esq. (c. 1549).

Sir Anthony Kingston, who had succeeded his father Sir William (Constable of the Tower) at Painswick in 1540 (or, rather, his step-mother, Lady Kingston in 1546), was still drawing his annuity of £4 from Hailes, and in February (21st) 1553, conveyed his manor of Haresfield to the above Richard Andrews, whose heir presently (1557) married, at Painswick, Mistress Derrike Kingston, Sir Anthony's natural daughter.

We shall refer once more presently to the Actons and Andrews in passing to the other post-Dissolution occupiers of Hailes Abbey and Winchcombe.

On August 28th, 1543, Thomas Bell of Gloucester, the King's servant, was granted in fee the properties of Hayles Abbey in that city (*i.e.*, Hare Lane, Southgate Street, etc.), while in Winchcombe, a messuage in Hailes Street and a barn in Birporte Street was, on the same date, granted to Henry Hodgkins. (Cf. Vol. XVIII., Dom. Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., 107 (XI.), p. 59.)

Hailes' property in Rodbourne, Wilts, became leased to William Rede.

* (? Loftus).

CHAPTER XIV.

HERALDRY AT HAILES. THE LIST OF ABBOTS.

THE heraldry concerning Hailes derives principally from three sources. (1) What has been found there in the shape of early encaustic tiles, and that found sculptured or bossed, belonging to the latter days of the monastery. [See Chapter XII.]

(2) What has been traced at Guiting, Sudeley, Toddington, Bishops Cleeve, and Southam, as spoils from Hailes, and on tiles of uncertain provenance brought to the writer by workmen and others, but probably belonging to it.

(3) What has been found limned on the walls of Hailes Church, dating from the fifteenth century.

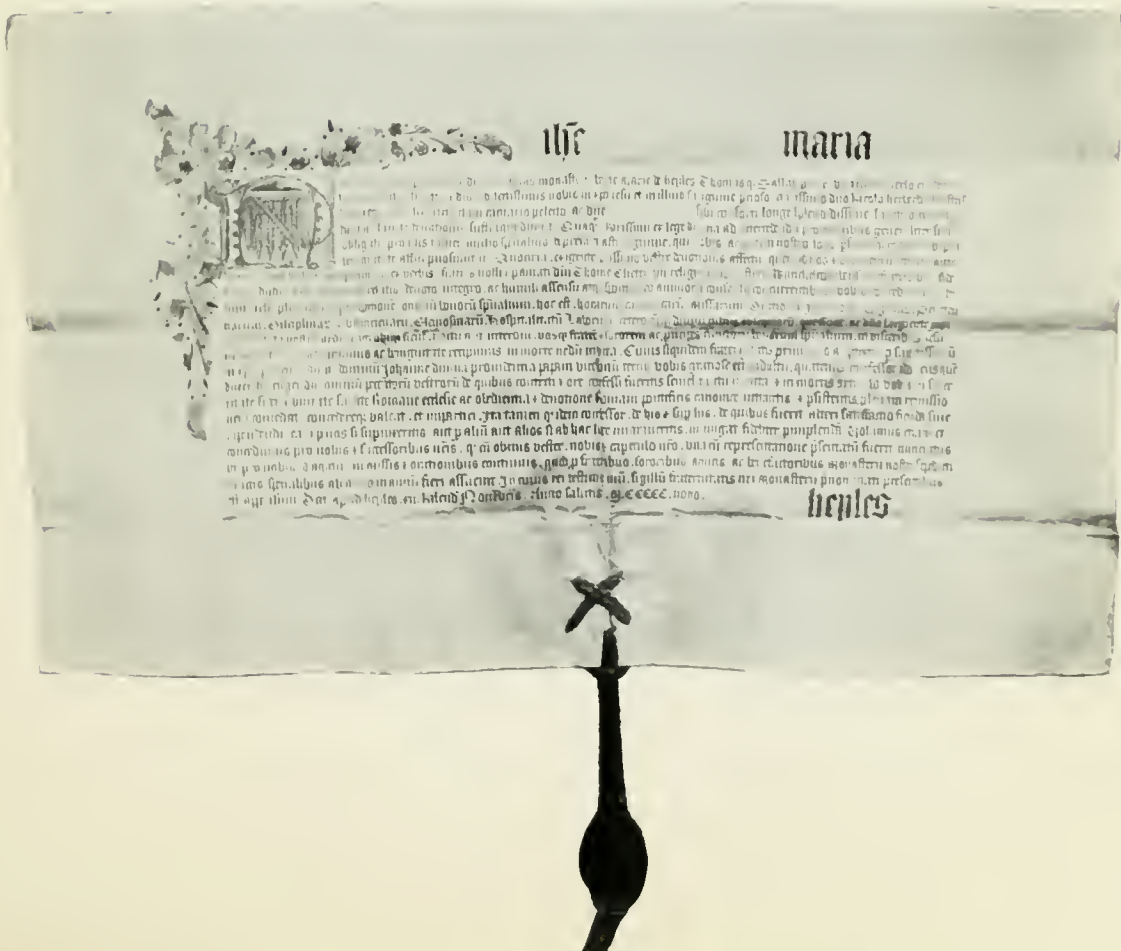
As the first and third categories include what has already been described, it, therefore, remains to record here only that belonging to the second. Some of these, it is true, are more likely to have belonged to Sudeley than to Hailes; for example, (1) the Argent, three demi-lions rampant and coupéd, gules, at Temple Guiting House, representing the coat of Isturmey, as a fourth quartering with Seymour; (2) likewise there, the Augmentation coat given to Jane Seymour by Henry VIII., and impaled with his own; (3) at Bishops Cleeve, gules, a chief counter-compony or and azure; over all a bend, argent, attributed to Hailes Abbey remains; (4) at Temple Guiting House, Party per bend argent and gules, three roses in bend counter-changed; again Seymour and MacWilliams: for Isabel MacWilliams and Sir John Seymour, Kt.; (5) the Royal Arms of France and England quarterly, in circular medallions, at Toddington. Some, with label, argent, for Edward VI., and some with initials K. (P.) and H. for Henry VIII. and Katherine Parr.

These attributions to a provenance from Hailes derive from Bigland. [They will be found indexed carefully by Mr F. Were, in Vol. XXVIII., pt. II, Trans. Brist. and Glos. Archl. Soc.]



St. C. B.

Fresco (Early XIV. C.), Hailes Church (Parish)
S. Catherine standing upon the prostrate Roman Emperor



LIST OF THE ABBOTS OF HAILES

Jordan (Prior of Beaulieu)	1246	
Richard	1250	(a. 35, Hen. III., Charter)
John (?)		
Walter	1270	(Chron. de Hailes, f. 79).
Hugh I.	1280	died (Chron. of Hayles)
Adam	1280	(June 11th. Vol. II., Land- boc, 294). Died 1286-7. (Pl. Qo. Wo.)
Nicholas d.	1298	(Annal. Wigorn., p. 539)
Hugh de Dumbleton	1301, 1305	(Executor of Will of Edmund Earl of Cornwall. Epis. Re- gister, Gainsborough, f. 7.)
John of Gloucester* (1)	1306	(At the funeral of Abbot Gamage, at Gloucester.)
	1309	(Landboc, II. 295)
John Dene .. 1317, 1319,	1323	(Cf. Epis. Reg. Orleton, Here- ford, fol. 33.)
John (?)	1333	(Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ed. III, a. 6, pt. III., m. 1.)
Thomas	1345	(Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ed. III., a. 19 pt. III., m. 9d.)
Nicholas de Hayles ..	1351	(Epis. Reg. Thoresby, f. 35)
Thomas	1354	(Epis. Reg. Brian, f. 10.)
William de Winforton	1359	?
John of Gloucester (2)	1368, 1376	(Epis. Reg. Hereford, Charl- ton, f. 32 and 36)
Robert	1380	(Dugdale, Mon. Aug. V. 687)
Henry of Alcester ..	1397-1402	(Epis. Reg. Winchcombe, fol. 16d)
Robert of Alcester ..	1403-1420	(C.P.R., a. 5, Hen. IV. pt. 1, m. 27d. Epis. Reg. Mor- gan, fol. 15d.)
William Henley ..	1420-1438	(Epis. Reg. Morgan, f. 15, d.)
Robert Landrake ..	1451	(Epis. Reg. Carpenter, I. f. 95)
John	1461-1464	
William Whitchurch	1464-1479	
Richard Wotton ..	1479	(Epis. Reg. Alcock, f. 52)

* Consecrated in Bredon Church by Giffard, Bishop of Worcester.
15 Kal: Sept. 1305.

John Combeck	..	1483	(Epis. Reg. Alcock, f. 120, d)
Thomas Stafford	..	1483-1503	(Epis. Reg. Alcock, f. 120, d)
Anthony Melton	..	1509-1527	(?) (Epis. Reg. Di Ghinucci, f. 75, d.)
Stephen Sagar	..	1527-1539	(Epis. Reg. Di Ghinucci, f. 75, d.)

An Abbot's ring was found between Toddington Church and the house (c.) 1830; but it was accidentally lost down a drain there, by its owner, some years later.

1. Seal of Hailes, Abbot Henley. A Charter at Guildhall, Gloucester.

2. Seal (matrix) found 1829 ? at Low Garth, Langrick-on-Ouse, Co. York.

3. Seal attached to an Indulgence dated 1509, at Hailes Museum. (Fig. 25, 2).

Not one of these is an armorial example of the Abbey Seal; and to the writer it seems questionable (but only for lack of further evidence), whether the Abbots of Hailes were wont to use the arms of their Abbey upon their Seals after they became possessed of such important Relics as the Holy Blood and their piece of the True Cross. In Conventual Seals the arms are often presented sub-ordinately to the main subject, or legend, depicted upon them. In many cases also no arms occur at all. Crosiers borne in a bend afforded comparatively little variety. The difference observed between two of the Seals of the Confraternity of Hailes consists in the omission of three steps in the later (or 1509) example, upon which, in the earlier (fifteenth century) one, the monk, holding his two relics, is standing.

The *Arms of Hailes* were argent, on a bend dexter, gules, a crosier, surmounted with a lion rampant of the last; all within a bordure sable. They occur in glass at the Church of Haughley, Suffolk.

CHAPTER XV.

THE HOBY FAMILY. SUDELEY AND KATHERINE PARR. LADY JANE GREY. SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY. PARR, MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON.

THE post-Dissolution occupiers of Hailes, and of its neighbouring Abbeyes (Evesham and Winchcombe) are of especial interest to us as having been intimately and locally connected with prominent actors in the drama of the Suppression. "After the Dissolution of Hailes Abbey one Acton took the first lease of the scite and demesnes thereof which he kept not long ; for in ^a. 38 Henry VIII. (1545-6) one [Richard] Andrewes took a lease thereof who had also (as I have heard), the scites of nine Monasteries. His heire now liveth as *a meane gent*, in Gloucestershire (*i.e.*, at Haresfield). Andrewes solde his lease to one Hodgkins, who held the same for a time, and then took a new lease from the Marquis of Northampton." (Gurney MSS. Misc. H. 109, 117). Hodgkins a little later (Nov., 1557) obtained other Abbey lands including those at Cold Aston which had belonged to the Priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester, and those of the Abbey of St. Peter, at Minsterworth, and Ayleswood, near Withington, once parcel of the properties of the Abbey of Bruern, Co. Oxon ; and in addition he received tithes of the Almonry of Winchcombe Abbey, from the lands of which his brother, Anthony Hodgkins, likewise drew a fee-farm rent of 16s. 8d., which he held for twenty-one years. His daughter, Alice, presently married William Hoby, son of a certain William Hoby, of no family or county standing, at Leominster ; but the eldest member of a family which rose rapidly by zeal and high patronage to great estate, and flourished upon the ruins of the Suppression ; and then almost as rapidly declined into nothingness. The younger brother of William (of Hailes), Philip (b. 1505) is stated by Nash (Hist. Worc. I. 197) quoting from a MS. in the College of Arms, to have come to the Court of Henry VIII. in the train of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester ; the very same personage whom we have already noticed as having been granted an especial Indulgence

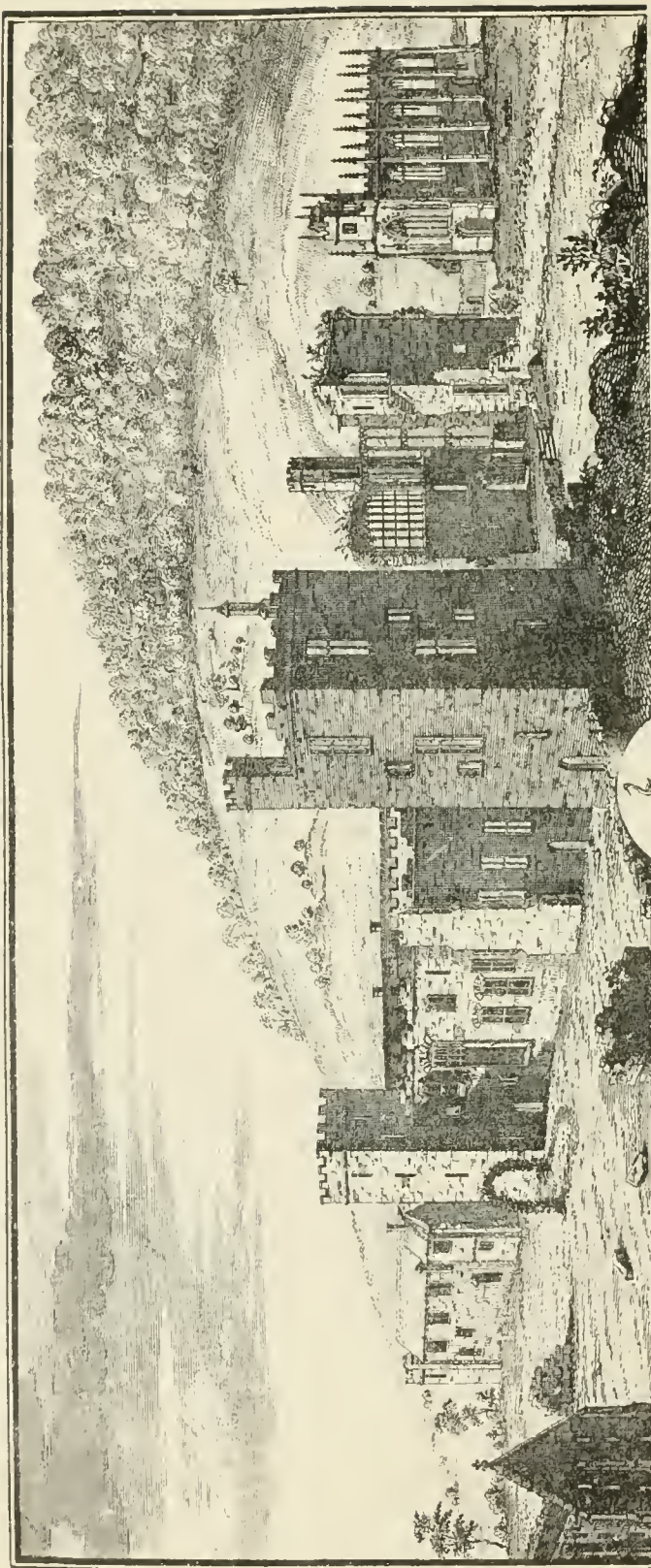
by the Abbot of Hailes in 1509, for helping the fortunes of that Monastery. It is a coincidence that Philip Hoby became entrusted by the King with important diplomatic business in the same year which witnessed the Dissolution of the Abbeys of Evesham and Hailes. He was sent on a mission touching the King's diplomatic relations with the Emperor Charles V. concerning the attitude of France and Scotland. His services became rewarded in 1542 with the best spoils of Evesham Abbey, including the Manors of Norton and Lenchwick, and with Bisham Abbey, near Henley-on-Thames. Holbein painted his portrait, which is now at Windsor.

Sir Philip married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Stoner, by whom he left no son, but one daughter married to Brian Carter, who had livery of land in the Manor of Rowell (a. 1, Eliz.) 1558. Recalled from his continental post of envoy in the Netherlands by Queen Mary in 1553, as a protestant subject of questionable trustworthiness, he obtained leave in the following year to travel into Italy, in search of certain baths near Verona (Caldero), advised him for an old malady. This he accomplished in company of his half-brother, Sir Thomas, and returned to Bisham Abbey in 1556, but little better of his ailment of which he presently died, in the same year with Queen Mary and the Emperor Charles V. (1558).

William Hoby appears to have led a more retired life than Sir Philip, or Sir Thomas, his said half-brother, and to have married as his second wife, Alice Hodgkins, with whom he lived at Marden, in Hampshire, a manor rented from Sir Philip. In 1552 Sir Thomas Hoby writes, "On the v. day of Februarie I went into the countrie with my brother William and his wyff to Marden." (Cf. *A Booke of the travaile and lief of Thomas Hoby*, p. 76). Later he came to live at Hailes to which he succeeded upon the death of Henry Hodgkins, his wife's father. During his long life there (for he lived to the venerable age of 103 years), he renewed the lease of Hailes three separate times. A MS. source declares to us that "He was a man unlearned, very just and very plain in his actions, and of great hospitality. He had three sons, who are all dead without issue male (living); and the lease (of Hayles) for fifty years is gone from his kindred unto the Honourable (Sir Horatio) Vere, who married the widow of William Hoby, his youngest son, who had the same by gift of William, her son." (Gurney MS., 1627). He is said to have restored the parish church at Hailes, which had doubtless suffered neglect after the departure of the Abbots, and where he came to be buried in 1603, but unless it can be identified

FIG. 26.

THE SOUTH WEST VIEW OF SEWDLEY CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.



SEWDLEY or SEWDLEY CASTLE, the Manor was formerly called Stodlingham. The Castle was built for an officers way repaired and enlarged by Ralph de Beutler, Esq. Surveyor who was created Baron of Stodlingham in 1215, but he having no issue, the Castle was sold to the King, and was then continued in the hands of the Crown, till the reign of Henry 2. when it was given to the family of Charlton, & was by the Queen created Baron Charlton of Stodlingham, in which title the family of the Barons still remain. The George L. Charlton is a descendant of the former having no heir, the estate was given to his wife Jane, daughter of John Earl Rivers, who married George Pitt Esq. of Uxbridge in Hampshire, whose son George, is now Lord thereof. 1759.



To George Pitt Esq.
Proprietor of these Remains
This Prospect is humbly presented
by Your most Obedt. Servt. John & Nathl. Black.

with some fragments of Elizabethan wall-texts found by the writer in the south wall of the chancel while removing old whitewash there in 1904, there is no feature (save some false gothic tracery in the windows), left by which to record his handiwork. One of his daughters, Elizabeth, married George Stratford, Esq., of Farmcote; while William, his second son, married secondly, Mary, daughter of Sir John Tracy of Stanway, and had a son, William, who dying, left Hailes to his mother.

But we have been somewhat anticipatory, and, with the leave of the reader, let us for a moment shift the point of interest to Sudeley, two miles away. For the fee of the site and demesnes of the Abbey of Hailes was granted first, as was that of Winchcombe, to Queen Katherine Parr (July, 1543), and afterwards (1547) to her fourth husband, Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley (attainted), "and then to (Parr) Marquis of Northampton (also attainted) as sithence whose attainder, the fee thereof hath continued in the Crown." Fig. 26.

"The scite and demesnes of the Abbey of Winchcombe remained in the hands of King Henry the Eighth from the time of the Dissolution until his death; and was by him granted to the Queen Katherine, his last wife, for her jointure." [Gurney MS.]

It is well, therefore, to clearly recognise that whatever undoubted interest must attach to the owners of leases who in turn lived at Hailes after the Dissolution, the fee of the Manor now held by the Crown was granted by the King to a still more interesting personage, even Queen Katherine Parr. Meanwhile, it was held by a constable appointed by the Crown in the person of one Richard Andrewes (gent), (Cf. Cal. State Papers, Vol. 17), to whom were leased the rectories of Hailes and Didbrook, and a meadow at the latter place 'lately belonging to the monastery of Hayles.'

There can be no doubt that the suppression of the two Abbeys struck a fatal blow at the well-being of Winchcombe, and if the town was by no means in a flourishing condition before that event, its condition afterwards became little short of disastrous, and the wholesale vagrancy and impoverishment caused thereby soon enough made the King himself declare that "it cannot be wholesome for our common-wealth to permit them (*i.e.*, monks and their dependents) to wander abroad." State Papers, Vol. 1, p. 540). The beginning of the Winchcombe Parish Register, July 6, 1539, eloquently marks the violent transition when not only the

Rec. Cou. 1543
2 1543 1543

great and ancient Convent in her midst became deserted, but the townsfolk found themselves no longer within the venerable diocese of Worcester, but swept into the brand-new one of Gloucester.

While, presently, the Protector Somerset was wrangling with his brother, Thomas Seymour, over the chantries and advowsons of the churches which had pertained to the monasteries, the latter at Sudeley completed the destruction of Winchcombe Abbey and Hailes ; so that, what with State-tragedies and local ruination, Sudeley Castle must have come to be regarded ominously not only as a centre of incidental calamity, but the very home of tragedy.

In 1547, but four months after Henry's decease, Seymour secretly wedded Katherine, the late King's widow, and in the same year, his nephew King Edward (August a. 1) confirmed to him all his Gloucestershire estates and other possessions, including "all our Hundred of Kiftsgate, and the manor of Sudeley, and the possessions of the late Abbey of Winchcombe." Knowing what has been handed down to us of Katherine, her radiancy and witty resourcefulness, as well as her personal attraction, it seems deplorable that she should have come to love such a perilous person as the man of whom his intimate acquaintance, Latimer, could say, "He was a wicked man"; "a most seditious man" and "the furthest from the fear of God that ever he knew, or heard of, in England," albeit some of this language may have been purposely unrestrained in order to justify the youthful King for having signed his uncle's death-warrant. Every month of the new, but brief, married life for Seymour was thick inlaid with foolhardy intrigue, step by step quickly rising to the unforeseen, but supreme, forfeiture to be made on Tower Hill. And even had the sad Queen survived the birth of their child, it was difficult to believe that her tears, or her wit, could have saved her heartless man. He seems to have confided nothing of his plots to her; but the queen herself was hated by the Duchess of Somerset, to whom her precedence was as gall. When not at Chelsea Manor-house, they spent their time chiefly at Hanworth* (Co. Middlesex), another gift to her from King Henry; and there the youthful and dauntless Elizabeth resided under Katherine's care, and apparently she needed more of this there than either herself or the queen suspected.

Seymour and his bride did not come to Sudeley until after midsummer in 1548. Elizabeth's place was there filled by her

* Queen Elizabeth dined there in 1600. It was burned down in 1796

cousin, the little Lady Jane Grey, whom her father, the Marquis of Dorset, brought thither, and whom Seymour desired to match with the King, his nephew. Among the household moved the sombre figure also of Miles Coverdale, the Queen's Almoner.

On August 30th, Katherine gave birth to a daughter, and for fear of displeasing Seymour forewent the necessary attendance of her skilled physician. Nothing short of repulsion can fill us when we read the words which the victim-invalid (as reported by her lady-in-waiting, Elizabeth Tyrwhit), addressed to her husband from what was to be her death-bed:—"My lord, I would have given a thousand marks to have had my full talk with Huyck (her doctor) the first day I was delivered, but I dared not for displeasing you."

Seven days later the queen died, most sadly indeed, but at least she was spared the bitterness of seeing her treacherous husband's rapid, and inevitable, downfall. Rumour, readily to be believed, had it that her husband had poisoned her in order that he might marry the Princess Elizabeth.

"On Wednesday, the Vth of September, between ii. and iii. of the clock, in the forenoon, died the aforesaid Lady, late Queen Dowager, at the Castle of Sudeley in Gloucestershire, 1548; and lieth buried in the Chapel of the said Castle." Her body was borne from the house across the strip of garden, into the beautiful Chapel by six Gentlemen in black gowns with their hoods on their heads, preceded by the Somerset Herald, and the knights, esquires, and ushers of the household; and followed by yeomen with torches who formed around the dead Queen, and four knights, one standing at each corner of the bier.

"Then the lady Jane* (daughter of the Lord Marquis Dorset), Chief Mourner, led by ———, her trayne borne up by a young lady.

"Then six other lady mourners, two and two.

"Then all ladies and gentlewomen, two and two.

"Then all other following.

"The manner of the service in the Church:—

"When the corpse was set within the rails and the mourners placed, the whole choir began and sang certain psalms in English, and read three lessons. After the third lesson the mourners

* In her eleventh year.

according to their degrees and as it is accustomed offered into the Alms-box. And when they had done, all other as Gentlemen or Gentlewomen that would.

"The offering done, Doctor Coverdall, the Queen's Almoner, began his Sermon, which was very good and godly. And in one place thereof he took an occasion to declare unto the people how that they shall none there think, say, or spread abroad that the offering which was there done was done any thing to profit the dead, but for the Poor only. And also the lights which were carried, and stood about the corpse, were for the honour of the person, and for none other intent or purpose. And so went through with his sermon, and made a godly prayer. And the whole Church answered and prayed the same with him in the end.

"The sermon done, the corpse was buried; during which time the choir sang *Te Deum*, in English.

"And this done, after dinner the mourners, and the rest that would, returned homeward (*i.e.*, across the garden) again; all which aforesaid was done in a morning."

Neither Lord Seymour, her husband, nor her brother, Marquis of Northampton, seem to have been present when Katherine died. But shortly afterwards the latter declares that Seymour had told him "in his own Gallery in London," that there would be much ado for my Lady Jane, and that the Protector and the Duchess of Somerset would do what they could to obtain her for young (Lord) Hertford, *i.e.*, their son.

In the following March (1548) Seymour, arrested and condemned, was beheaded upon Tower Hill, requesting that Latimer* should attend on him, and that his little daughter by Katherine should be brought up by the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk at Grims-thorpe.

Sudeley Castle was presently bestowed by Edward VI. upon the Marquis of Northampton (June 12th, a. 4, Ed. VI.), already so familiar with it, and with it went Hailes Abbey, of which (as we have seen) he presently granted a new lease. He chose to live at Sudeley. He was promoted to be Lord Great Chamberlain in 1551, and soon after, was one of those who sat in the Council and pronounced fatal sentence upon the Lord Protector (Somerset) himself.

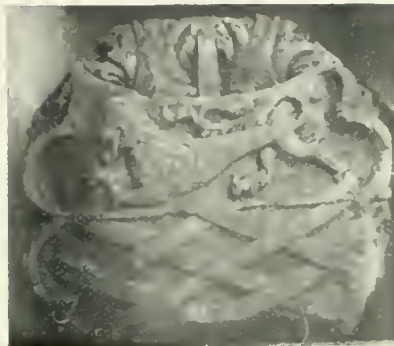
* "He was a wicked man, and the realme is well rid of him." Latimer, Sermon.

HERALDIC XVI. C. BOSSES, FROM CLOISTER

(E. Mergland).



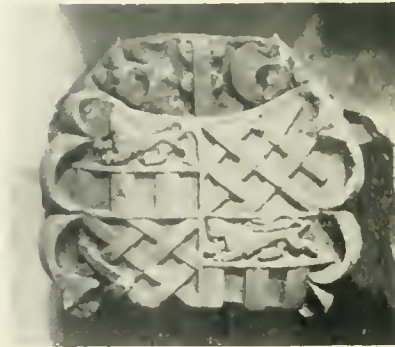
SIR WILLIAM COMPTON



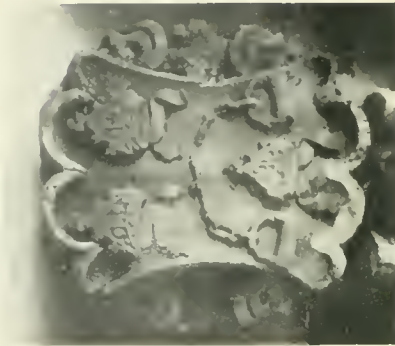
HUDDLESTON-STAPLETON



SIR JOHN HUDDLESTON



HUDDLESTON @ DARGOURE AND STAPLETON



ABBAY OF FAUSHAM



PERCY-FAYNINS

An entry written at this time, of the prisoners then lodged in the Tower of London, tells us of "Rycharde Tracye,* who hath bene there IX. monethes and more for writing a letter to Mr Kelwaye." (11th Feb., a. 6, Ed. VI.)

Henry VIII. had amply rewarded Tracy of Stanway as a Commissioner, with a gift of certain lands at Didcot (Co. Gos.), which had belonged to Tewkesbury Abbey. He was still an Augmentation Commissioner in a. 2, Ed. VI., and was then found surveying chantries, colleges, and free chapels, in Bristol. In 1564 we find him back at Stanway, and presenting the Rev. James Beck to Church Stanway (April 15th) which had once belonged to Winchcombe Abbey. As Robert Kelway, Esq.,† had been a fellow Royal Commissioner in 1548, at Cirencester (with Sir Walter Mildmay), regarding the Grammar Schools, there and elsewhere throughout Gloucestershire, it is not improbable that professional differences may have arisen between them which led to trouble; but to have needed so long a correction in the Tower for a letter, Mr Richard Tracy must have used rather powerful language. He was known for his polemics. He died 1569.

Thus, from the foregoing events alone, it is not a little remarkable how ominously related at this period of the mid-sixteenth century, for so many individuals, were become both the Tower of London and the fine Castle of Ralph le Boteler, outside Winchcombe. A dark under-current seemed to connect them. Lord Northampton, who had made a serious deposition against Lord Seymour, now, upon the death of Edward VI. (July 6th, 1553), became himself implicated in the fore doomed cause of Lady Jane (Grey) Dudley, and for serving Northumberland in Norfolk, was condemned to die here, but presently was spared by Queen Mary, with the temporary forfeit of his title, together with the estates of Sudeley and Hailes. "The Duke of Northumberland is in custodie of the Garde as a prisoner in Cambridge, and my ladie hys wyfe, the Lord Guildford, and the Lady Jane, are in the Towere as prisoners; my Lord Marquis of Northampton, the Erle of

* Richard Tracy was the second son of William Tracy of Toddington, and Margaret, daughter of Thomas Throckmorton. He married Barbara, daughter of Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecote, by whom he became father to Sir Paul Tracy, Bt., who built the beautiful existing Stanway House, and died 1626. Fig. 31.

† His daughter, Jane Kelway=John, son of Sir Thomas Bartlett, of Sedbury, Co. Gos.

Huntingdone, Sir Henry Gates, and diveres others cannot as yet gett their pardones." (July 23rd). Meantime, a letter from Queen Mary dated at the Tower (August 5th) peremptorily recalled Sir Philip Hoby from his post of ambassador to the Emperor in the Low Countries. On the 18th, the Marquis, together with Northumberland, was actually condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered; a day (owing to his having been reprieved) he must have been happy to recall during the last eighteen years of his life. On the 12th morning of February, Lady Jane arose at the bidding of Sir John Brydges of Cobberley,* the Lieutenant, and her prayer-book in hand passed to the fatal green opposite the White Tower, and after her prayers she handed her book to Thomas Brydges, in which she had written for his brother, Sir John (at the latter's request), and signed herself, "Yours, as the Lord knoweth, as a friend, Jane Duddeley." Queen Mary bestowed Sudeley Castle and Manor upon him. There he died quietly in 1557, and was buried (May 3rd) under the pavement upon which little Jane Grey had mourned for Katherine Parr. His daughter, Elizabeth, married Henry Tracy, of Todding-ton, cousin of Richard Tracy, and father of the Sir John Tracy whom Queen Elizabeth knighted in 1574, at Bristol.†

The Bridges, Lords Chandos, although Chief Stewards of the Manor, were at no time, however, owners of Hailes, and hence they do not call for further reference at this point, than may be fitly appended in the MS. note of (c.) 1627, given below. (No. 3).

Rudder mentions (probably upon the authority of a 'deed'), that "a meadow which had belonged to the Marquis of Northampton, and formerly to the Abbey of Hayles, called 'Brownings,' was granted to Henry Browning and Charles Brockton in 1553-4 (a. 2, Mariæ)." Other Abbey lands here were granted in 1582-3 (a. 25, Eliz.) to Theophilus and Richard Adams. In 1564 certain rights there were also conceded to John Dudley and John Ayscough. The Rectory and Church of Didbrook were leased by Elizabeth to William Gorge, one of her gentlemen pensioners, in 1571-2, for twenty-one years. (Cf. Pat. Roll).

* He had been created Lord Chandos a few days only.

† Another, Katherine, married Edmund, Lord Dudley.

NOTE (1) TO CHAPTER XV.

OWNERS OF THE ABBEY AFTER THE DISSOLUTION.

[From MS. in possession of J. H. Gurney, Esq., Keswick Hall, Norwich,]

"After the Dissolution of Hayles Abbey one Acton took the first lease of the scite and demesnes thereof, which he kept not long; for in a. 38^o H.VIII. one Andrewes took a lease thereof who had also (as I have heard) the scites of nine monasteries. His heir now liveth as a meane gent in Gloucestershire. Andrewes solde his lease to one Hodgkyns, who held the same for a tyme, and then took a new lease of the Marquis of Northampton; and after that another lease of Queen Elizabeth; which last lease he gave unto William Hobie, Esq., who had married his daughter; the said Hodgkins had but one sonne, who died in the lifetime of his father, leaving behind him three sons to whom he left good estates, but they were all consumed and their issue fallen into povertie.

"The fee of the scite and demesnes of this Abbey was granted first to Queene Katherine Parr, afterwards to the Lord Seymour (attainted) and then to the Marquis of Northampton (also attained) as sithence, whose attainder the fee thereof hath continued in the Crowne.

"William Hoby who married the daughter of Mr Hodgekins, tooke three several leases of Queen Elizabeth of these lands, the first for 21 years, the second for three lives, and the third for 50 years in a Reversion after these lives; He was a man unlearned, very just, and very plain in his actions; of great hospitality; He had three sons, who are all dead without issue male; and the lease for 50 years is gone from his kindred unto the Hon. Vere (*i.e.*, Sir Horatio) who married the widow of William Hoby, his youngest son, who had the same by the gift of Mr William Hoby, her son."

[In another hand.] "received of Mr Townshende, an attorney of Glocestere, 6 May, 1627."

NOTE (2) TO CHAPTER XV.

EVESHAM AND THE HOBYS

"Evesham Monastery being dissolved, the scite and demesnes thereof was granted by King Henry VIII. to Sir Philip Hoby, who died without issue. He conveyed the said Abbey lands to his brother (of the half-blood) Sir Thomas Hoby; who also conveyed the same to his wife (afterwards the Lady Russell) for life, the reversion to Sir Edward Hoby and his heires; to whom also he gave many other manors of great value which had been parcel of the possessions of the said Abbey.

"Sir Edward Hoby sold the said reversion to Sir Edward Grevill who (as it is said) overthrew his estate by buying thereof, by reason that he borrowed the money upon use, which he paid for the same: He sold it again before the death of the said Lady Russell to one Mr Woodward, a citizen of London, whose son Sir John Woodward hath also sold the same in possession to Sir William Curteneene; and Sir Edward sold also all the residue of the said Abbey landes.

"The said Sir Philip Hoby had three brothers; viz., William, Thomas, and Richard: William had issue three sons; viz., Philip and Giles who died without issue, and William who had issue, William and Philip, who are both also dead without issue. (See p. 150).

"Thomas had issue Sir Edward Hoby and Sir Thomas Postumus Hoby; Sir Edward had three wives by whom he had no issue but he hath a reputed son by a stranger, to whom he left Bisham Abbey near Henley upon Thames. Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby is yet living, but without issue.

"Richard Hoby had one only son who is dead without issue.

"So that there is not at this time any issue male of that name living, but only Sir Thomas Posthumus Hoby; and all the said Abbey lands which they had are sold.

"Sir Philip Hoby had also a sister whom he preferred to good estates which are also sithence consumed; and their issue in povertie."

"received of Mr (? Charles) Townshend, an attorney of Gloucestershire." 6 May, 1627.

Gurney MSS., pp. 109-11.

"Aldington," says Nash, "was probably the chief seat of the Hobys in Worcestershire. They were extinct in the time of Habingdon. The Hoby Pedigree was recorded at the Visitation of 1569."

Their Arms seem to have somewhat suspiciously blossomed out into rich quarterings. "Quarterly (1) Arg: a fesse sable between 3 Hobbies proper, for Hoby; (2) Gules, 3 Halberds in fesse arg. for Bylmore; (3) Arg: 3 bottoms or clewes, in fesse gules threaded, or, for Badlond; (4) Sable an eagle displayed arg: for Llewellyn-ap-Gregeur; (5) Arg: a lion ramp: sable, crowned or, for Rhys-ap-Tudor; (6) Sable, a pomegranate or, for Meredith Beth; (7) Gules, a lion rampant arg: for ?; (8) Arg: a chevron between 3 boars' heads crased sable for Philip Doillie."

Cf. Grazebrook. Heraldry of Worcestershire.

NOTE (3) TO CHAPTER XV.

CHANDOS OF SUDELEY

"The site and demesnes of the Abbey of Winchcombe remained in the hands of King Henry the 8th from the time of the Dissolution until his death; was by him granted to the Queen Katherine his last wife for her jointure.

"King Edward the 6th in the first year of his reign granted the same in fee unto the Lord Seymour his uncle who also married the said Queen Katherine (as it is said) shortly after poisoned her in hope to marry with the King's sister Elizabeth, afterwards Queen.

"Shortly after that the said Lord Seymour was attainted and executed; and then King Edward granted the said site and demesnes to the lord Marquis of Northampton. The said marquis was attainted in the first year of Queen Mary; and thereupon the said Queen granted the same to Sir John Bridges whom she created Lord Chandos; who shortly after died.

"Edmund Lord Chandos, son and heir of the said John lived and enjoyed the same for twenty years or thereabouts; he kept great hospitalitie and was of very great estimation and much feared in his country and much increased his estate.

"The said Edmund made a lease thereof to the use of his lady for the term of XXI. years to begin at his decease : and having issue 2 sons ; videlicet, Giles and William, by his Will entailed all his lands upon Giles and his heirs males : with Remainder to William and his heirs males with a perpetuity.

"Edmund (Lord Chandos) died, and Giles his eldest son enjoyed these lands paying yearly unto Sir William Knollys who married his mother £1000 per annum : He had no issue male, and therefore for preferment of his 2 daughters Elizabeth and Katherine, he suffered a Rec^d. to cut off the entail made by his father ; and settled all his lands upon his wife for life with remainder in fee to his eldest daughter : He lived until the lease made to his mother was almost expired ; and coming to London about that time promised his friends in the country a great feast at his return for joy that the said lease would then be expired, at which he much rejoiced : but being here he died much about his long expected time of the expiration of the said lease, his daughters being young.

"After his decease a great suit was presently raised by William his brother, then Lord Chandos, against the Lady Francis his wife and her daughter, who after some time spent in the Chancery, came to trial at the Common Law upon an issue joined concerning the razing of the said Will in the point of the perpetuity, which razere was proved, and the issue found for the lord William, who thereby obtained only 4 acres of land, and for the residue there were very tedious suits for many years in the Court of Rolls and at the Common Law, to the great impoverishing of the said Lord, whose means were small, and so he died before the said suit was determined.

"After the death of the Lord William, George (? Grey) Lord Chandos, his heir married the eldest daughter of Ferdinand, Earl of Darby, by whom he had both a faire estate and many great friends. And about the same time Elizabeth the eldest daughter of the Lord Giles (a lady well-known in Court in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and surpassing most at that time in both beauty and estate) married with Sir John Kennedy, a Scot, a mean man, and one who had another wife then living ; and shortly after there grew much discord between the Lady Chandos her mother and herself, and her husband, and then the old suit being revived the whole estate was reserved to certain lords as arbitrators by whom the controversy was ended to this effect, *viz.*, that the old Lady had £1,200 per annum for her life, lady Kennedy and her husband had £18,000, and the old lady and the second daughter £6,000, or thereabouts, in money : this suit being thus composed, then Sir John Kennedy and his lady fell to suit, she requiring a divorce in respect for that he had another wife. In the end this suit was also composed, and the lady had some part of the money which was then left them ; and which was scarce sufficient to pay her debts, so that in short time she was compelled through want to return to live with her mother whom she had for divers years much opposed and where she shortly after died.

"George Lord Chandos coming to this estate made such haste to spend it that in four years he sold fifteen fair manors of his own and worth £5,000 p.a. or thereabouts, retaining only the Castle Manor and park of Sudeley and demesne lands of the Abbey of Winchcombe, out of which he sold £80 p.a. of the best land, and it is like would fain have sold all the rest if death had not prevented him."

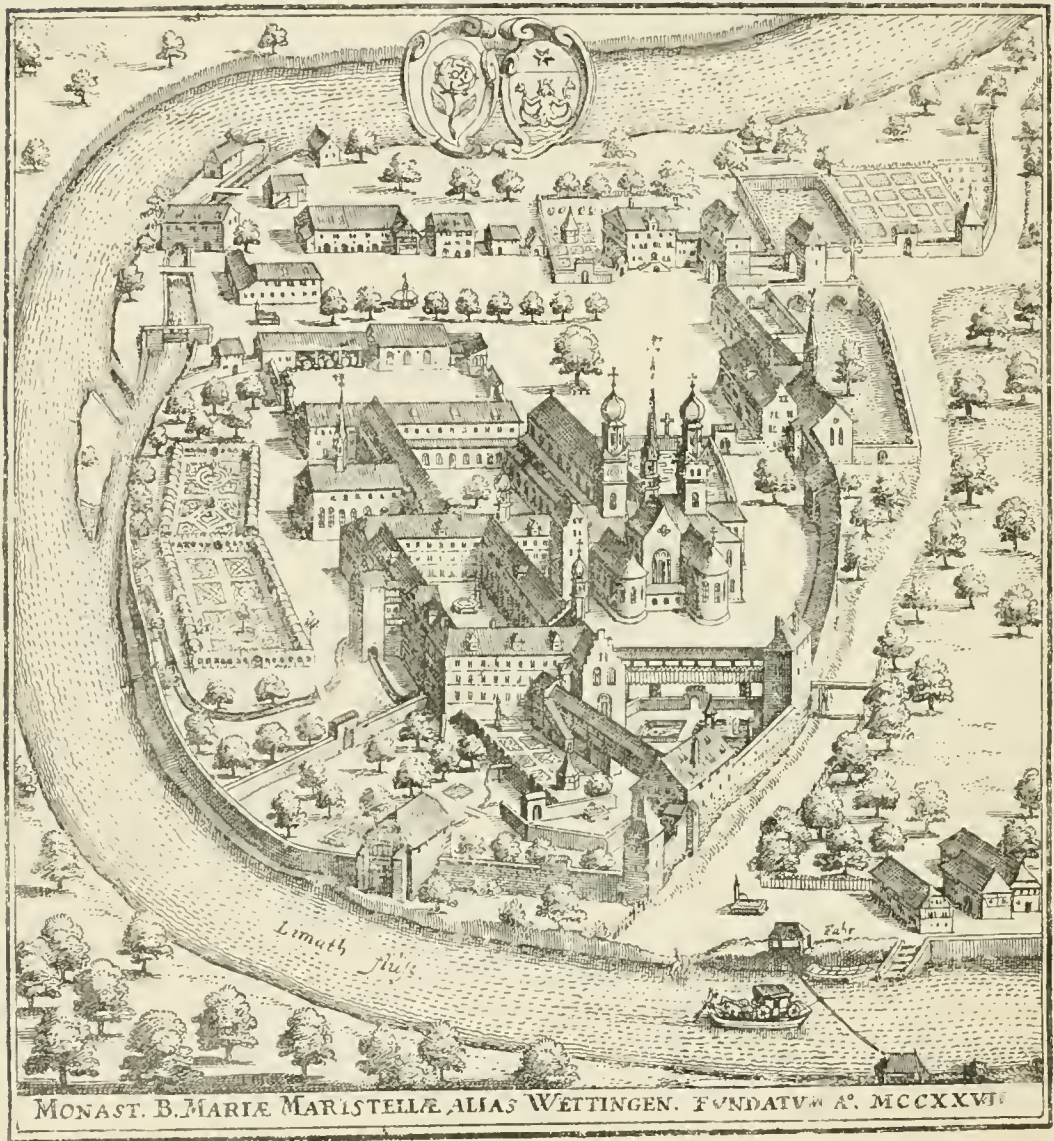
PEDIGREE OF BRYDGES, LORDS CHANDOS OF SUDELEY

ARMS: Argent on a cross sable,
a leopard's face caboshed, or.

SIR GILES BRYDGES OF COBERLEY (Co. Glouc.)	— ISABEL, d. of Thomas Baynham.
SIR JOHN BRYDGES, 1511 (succ.), Kl. 1513. Constable of Sudeley, 1538. Dep. Governor Boulogne, 1547. M.P. Glos., 1529-30. Cr. Baron Chandos of Sudeley, Ap. 8, 1554. D. March 4, 1556-7.	— ELIZABETH, d. Edm. Grey, Lord Grey de Winton.
EDMUND BRYDGES, LORD CHANDOS, b. (c) 1521. K.G. Ap. 23, 1572; m. (c) 1548. Steward of Hailes.	— DOROTHY, s. and co-h. of John 2nd Lord Braye.
GILES BRYDGES, LORD CHANDOS, b. (c) 1548-9. Received Queen Elizabeth at Sudeley, 1592. D. Feb. 21, 1593. B. at Sudeley. Steward of the Manor of Hailes for life.	— FRANCE 5th d. of Edw. Clinton, 1st Earl of Lincoln. 1. Elizabeth = 1603, Sir John Kennedy, d. 1617. 2. Katherine, b. 1576, m. 1608-9, Francis Russel, 4th Earl of Bedford, d. 29 Jan. 1656-7.*
WILLIAM LORD CHANDOS, (his brother) M.P. for Cricklade, 1572. M.P. for Gloucester, 1585-7.	— MARY, d. of Sir Owen Hopton.
GREY, LORD CHANDOS, b. (c) 1582. K.B., 1604, "King of Cotswold." Lord Lieut. Glos., 1614. m. 1607. D. 1621. Buried at Sudeley.	— ANNE, d. and co-h. of of Fernando Stanley, 5th Earl of Derby.
GEORGE, LORD CHANDOS, b. 1620. D. of small-pox, 1654-5.	— JANE, d. of John Savage, Earl Rivers.

* Through this lady the Barony of Chandos became vested in the Dukes of Bedford. Her sister was "Fair Mistress Bridges" whose fascinations over Essex proved too much for the equanimity of a greater Elizabeth. Cf. The Complete Peerage, by G.E.C.

FIG. 28.



A CISTERCIAN XIII. CENT. ABBEY
DISPLAYING AN ARRANGEMENT SOMEWHAT RESEMBLING THAT FORMERLY OF HAILES

CHAPTER XVI.

THE JACOBEOAN OWNERS OF HAILES.

WILLIAM HOBY, ere his long life came to a close in 1603, found his manors at Cutsdean and Rowell giving him anxiety with relation to the claims of his half-nephew, Sir Edward Hoby (b. 1560), son of Sir Thomas Hoby of Bisham Abbey. In 1597 a hostile suit was, however, compromised at Westminster by his giving £700 to Sir Edward (Cf. Feet of Fines, a. 39, Eliz.) The troubles in connection with these manors had long been complicated by their being divided into moieties, the boundaries of which had become obscured. In 1569 a Bill of Complaint in Chancery by William Hoby of Marden, Co. Southampton (and Hailes, Co. Glos.), sets forth that whereas he is seized of the manor of Rowell and the farm or bercary of Cottesden (Co. Glos.), one Richard Stratford (gent) of Hawling (Co. Glos.) is seized of a moiety of the Manor of Hawling, and has the other moiety for certain years yet to come, all late belonging to the Abbey of Winchcombe and adjoining one another. The boundaries dividing these moieties are now unknown, except to a few old and impotent persons; and while the plaintiff is dwelling sixty miles from Rowell and Cottesden, Richard Stratford, dwelling in Hawling, is, he declares, daily encroaching upon his lands. He begs for a subpoena against him, and for a Commission to examine boundaries.* His son William, born at Hailes Abbey, had married firstly, Katherine Fermour. She dying, he married Mary, daughter of his neighbour, Sir John Tracy (1) of Toddington (knighted 1574), and Anne Throckmorton; but William Hoby the elder, outlived both son and even his grandson, just as eventually he outlived his own century. His estate at Hailes was finally purchased by his connection, Sir John Tracy (2). A Return of Men and Armour for 1608 (by John Smith), gives us a view of the persons

* Cf. Chancery Proceedings, Elizabeth, S. II. Bundle 81, No. 14.

holding land in the neighbourhood, as well as the chief tenants. The inn formerly near the Abbey (its Hospitium) and one or more houses,* were granted in 1605 to Sir Thomas Smith and Edward Lascelles. Sir Thomas Smith of Parsons Green, Middlesex (lately secretary to James I.), married Francis, daughter of William, fourth Lord Chandos of Sudeley. Vandyke painted her. Edward Lascelles was sixth son of Thomas Lascelles of Gawthorpe.

HAILES

William Tracy, Esq. (brother of Mary Hoby, and Sir John Tracy 2.)	William Sexton, 1, m.
Charles Townsend	† Sir Horatio Vere, Kt., has one
John Rowles, m.	launce, one light horse, two cors-
John Hicks, servants to the said	lets, three muskets and two caly-
William Tracy.	vers furnished.
John Stanbe	
John Worley	
Henry Carnall, 2, m(iddle stature)	
William Carnall, 1, p(ikeman), (i.e.,	
tallest statnre)	
Thomas Jeffrey, 2 p.	

DIDBROOKE

Whereof Sir John Tracy is lord, standeth charged with the finding of one corslet, one musket, and one calyver with the furnishing.†

TODDINGTON

Whereof Sir John Tracy, Kt., is Lord.
 Henry Izod, § gent. 2 p. subsidy men. [= Catherine Jackson of Stanton]
 John Izod, 1 calyver [son of Henry Izod]
 Anthony Grey, 1 musket.
 William Skinner, 1 ca.
 William Smith, 2 ca. Servants to the said Henry Izod.
 John Collesborne
 John Wood
 Robert Fforce

* Pat. a. 2, James I.

† Mary Hoby married secondly Sir Horatio Vere. This is why Sir Horatio appears in the above list, at Hailes.

‡ Sir John Tracy (2), son of Anne, daughter of Thomas Throckmorton and Sir John Tracy (1) married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley, Kt. He rebuilt the chancel of Toddington Church. See p. 151.

§ Grandson of Nicholas Izod, d. 1557, and son of Henry Izod, d. 1597. Henry Izod died 1632. The Manor of Stanton, where some of the family lived, was given as dowry, with Snowhill, to Queen Katherine Parr. The old Manor House still stands, and is called the Court.

In Stanton Church among other Izod monuments is a tablet recording "Henry Izod, faithful to his King, aged 52, 1650, Nov. 9th." His daughter Mary Parsons placed it in 1675.

FARMCOTE

Whereof George Stratforde,* Esq., is lord [Married Elizabeth, daughter of William Hoby of Hayles Abbey. She died 1623 and had William Stratford of Farmcote, and John Stratford of Hayles and Winchcombe.]
 10 servants and
 2 husbandmen.

PINNOCK

Whereof the King's Majestie is lord.

The said tything standeth charged with the finding of one corslet with the furniture.

Postlippe, whereof Giles Brodway† (*i.e.*, Broad-, or Bradway) is lord,
 11 servants.

From about 1630 Hailes was inhabited as their residence by the Tracys‡ of Stanway (created Barons and Viscounts in 1642(3), until shortly after they built old Toddington House (a picturesque courtyard-mansion of many gables), in 1683-6. Of this, only the gateway survives, standing near the rebuilt and remarkable modern church. John, third Viscount Tracy, died at Hailes in 1686. His successor removed to the new mansion at Toddington, Hailes remaining only as a dower-house until about 1729, when it was divided into two farmer's residences. But soon becoming out of repair, it was taken down piecemeal for materials to be used in other estate buildings and restorations. The rapidity and completeness of the demolition are understood by comparing the 'view' of Kip (in Atkins, 1st Ed., p. 780), Buck, and the later one of Lysons. The decorative stained glass, and a mantel-piece bearing the professed Hoby Arms, with six quarterings, were taken to Toddington; while the panels of a 'Credo' window of the time of (c.) Edward IV., belonging to the Abbey, were removed thither by Thomas Charles, Lord Viscount Tracy (as his inscription, now upon the east window in the parish church relates), in 1789. This (after much fruitless research) was discovered (1900) in the loft of Toddington Estate Office, in an old croquet-box (where it had long lain and been forgotten) by Rev. Wm. (now Canon) Bazeley, and the present writer. The re-leading, which was found to be necessary, was entrusted to

* Son of John Stratford and Mary Throckmorton, daughter of Ant. Throckmorton. He died 1623.

† Great-grandson of Edmund Bradway and Alice Stratford, of Farmcote. His daughter Margaret married Henry Stratford, a kinsman (p. 149).

‡ With the exception of a few years, apparently, when it was probably let to John Stratford and his wife Margaret, daughter of Giles Bradway of Postlip.

Mr C. H. Dancey. St. Bartholomew was the first to discover himself, and then St. Thomas. There followed SS. Philip, James the Less, John, Simon, and Matthew. Each figure is accompanied by a scrip, or sentence, of the Creed. The Feather (for the Prince of Wales), accompanies several of them.

Another interesting object mentioned by Rudder, namely, glass bearing 'or, an eagle displayed with two heads sable; and around it Ricardus Plantagenet semper Augustus, noster Fundator,' has vanished. Some circular medallions bearing the Arms of France and England quarterly, set between the initials H. and K. (for Henry and Katherine Parr), and another of the same, with a label of three points, between (repeated) E.P., for Edward VI., are 'glazed in' at Toddington House.

During the excavation at Hailes have been found numbers of small early seventeenth century clay-pipes, belonging to the days of the Hobys and Tracys. It is not altogether surprising to find that a field hard by, and west of the ruins, is still known by the name of 'Tobacco-piece.' The cultivation of this plant at Winchcombe is usually said to have been the beginning of its introduction into this county. The precise date of its first planting at Winchcombe was probably not earlier than 1623; Hailes (we shall see) was not behind. Sir Walter Raleigh some thirty-five years earlier than that, had successfully eulogised the weed, a fact that perhaps reduced to nothing any, even small, consideration for him, when, later on, he was imprisoned by King James. But the severe duties levied on home-grown tobacco, by this King in 1604, failed to stop its cultivation here and there. The trade was 'scotched but not killed,' and many were said to have greatly increased their fortunes by it; moreover, many already regarded smoking as antiseptic. Proclamations against it were read aloud throughout Gloucestershire in September, 1631, but were ill-received, and led even to the ill-treatment (by way of response), of the Parliamentary agents sent to supervise the uprooting of the tobacco-fields. We shall now find that there was intimate connection between the growing of tobacco at Winchcombe and at Hailes. Indeed, they appear to have been grown by the same speculative personage; and he was none other than John Stratford (second son of George, of Farmcote), of London, whose mother, Elizabeth, had been a daughter (see Pedigree of Hoby) of William Hoby of Hailes. The bold notion of planting tobacco

doubtless emanated from London. The temptation to grow it came from the sheltered monastic fields of Hailes and Winchcombe.

"John Stratford, citizen of London, took a long lease of a house within the scite of the Abbey of Winchcombe: He bought lands thereabouts to the value of £300, and was of a great estate in his time: About five years past he fell to plant tobacco, and having the first year gained well thereby, he was so greedie after more gain thereby that (he) engaged his whole estate for tobacco, of which he had so much, was valued to be worth 20,000 li. His sale failing thereof he was by use of monie worn out of his estate; hath sold all his land and hideth his head and hath undone manie of his friends." [Orig. MS. Gurney, A.D. 1627.]

In April, 1652, a fresh Act was passed, prohibiting the cultivation, as forming an illegal competition with the Bermudas and Virginia trade; but 'influence' in its favour, as well as acute opposition to the Act, softened the working of the latter at least during the Commonwealth. A petition from certain Cheltenham and Winchcombe landowners and labourers declared to Cromwell that the destruction of their crop of tobacco would mean ruin to hundreds of them, and he graciously conceded one year's crop. When, later on, however, at the orders of the Governor of Gloucester, a troop of horse was despatched under Colonel Wakefield to uproot the crops, "the country did rise on them, about 500 or 600, threatening to kill them, horse and man, so that they were constrained to depart." In 1662, one of the first efforts of the Restoration was directed to enforce the displanting, and Sir Humphrey Hooke (formerly Mayor of Bristol and then Sheriff of Gloucestershire), was despatched at the planting season (May) to his county with peremptory orders to put down all who opposed him. And though he received ministerial thanks in the following session for his firmness (Dom. State Papers, a. 2, Car. II., Vol. LXV., 46), the landlords and farmers still winked at one another, and in 1667 (Sept. 19th), "My cozen, Kate Joyce . . . tells me how the Life-guard, which we thought a little while since was sent down into the country about some insurrection, was sent to Winchcombe, to spoil the tobacco there, which it seems the people there do plant contrary to law, and have always done, and still been under force and danger of having it spoiled, as *it hath been often times,*

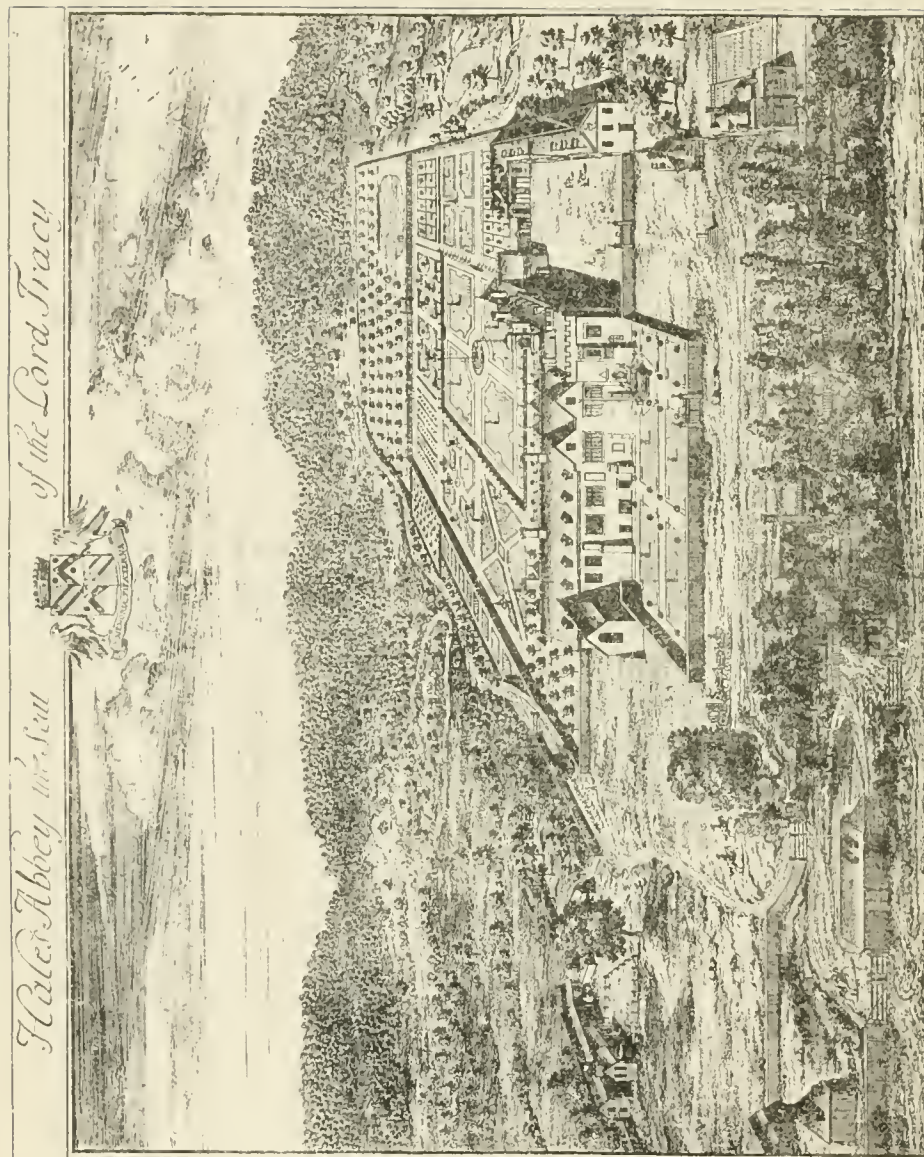
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and yet they will continue to plant it. The place, she says, is a miserable poor place." (Cf. Wheatley's Edition of Pepys, Vol. VII., p. 111 and note.)

"The very planting of tobacco hath proved the decay of my trade, writes the pseudo-*Hangman* (Cf. *Harry Hangman's Honour, or Gloucestershire Hangman's Request to the Smokers and Tobaccoconists of London*," 1655), "for since it hath been planted in Gloucestershire, especially at Winchcombe, my trade hath proved nothing worth. . . . Before tobacco was there planted, there being no kind of trade to employ men, and very small tillage, necessity compelled poor men to stand *my* friends by stealing of sheep and other cattel, breaking of hedges, robbing of orchards, and what not."

In 1675 the cultivation still continued, albeit on a diminished scale, as Pepys had predicted, and the field-name at Hailes at least has retained its hold until to-day.

FIG. 29.



PEDIGREE OF STRATFORD OF FARMCOTE.

ARMS: Barry of ten, arg. and azure, a lion ramp. gules.

JOHN STRATFORD, Esq. = MARGARET, d. of Ri. Henell, Esq.
 JOHN = MARGARET, d. of Robert Tracy.
 HENRY = MARY, d. of John Meere of Meere, Co. Chester.
 JOHN = MARY, d. of Ant. Throckmorton.
 GEORGE = ELIZABETH HOBY, d. of Wm. Hoby of Hailes.
 (d. 1623) (d. 1623)

(1) WILLIAM STRATFORD (2) JOHN STRATFORD (3) HENRY = MARGARET d. of Giles Bradway of Postlip.
 (buried at Farmcote, 1685) of Hayles
 = ANNE MOOR of Payns Farm, MARY = THOMAS JAMES of Bourton-on-the-Hill.
 Cockerup, Co. Oxon. HENRY
 WILLIAM = ANNE, d. of Walter Overbury. ANNE = JOHN ROBINS.
 d. 1635.)

WALTER
 (1672-1754)

Somerset House, P.C.C.
 Admns. 1623, fol. 62. Eliz. Stratford (Hoby) late of Farmecott, Co. Glos. 25 Nov., 1623, to her son William S.

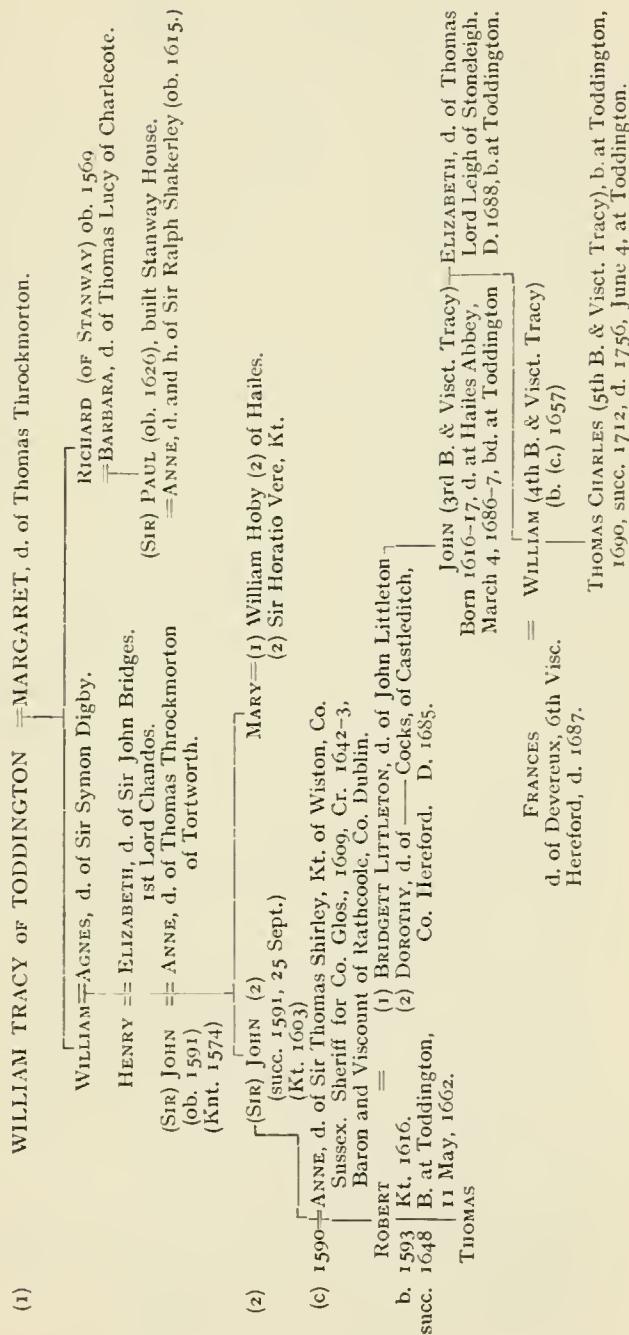
PEDIGREE OF HOBY OR HOBBY OF HAILES, AND HOBY OF BISHAM AND EVESHAM.

ARMS: Arg: a fess between 3 birds brown. (Hart. M.S. 1404, f. 144).

- (1) WILLIAM HOBY of Leominster, Co. Hereford = (1st) KATHERINE FOSTER.
 ANN HORSWELL = WILLIAM, b. 1500, Will P.C.C. (Hayes 24)
 = (2) ALICE, d. of Henry Hodgkins of Minsterworth (Sir) PHILIP, b. 1505, d. 1558. (see below at 2.)
- GILES (d. 1626) = WILLIAM = (1) KATHERINE FERMOUR. ANTHONY = KATHERINE =
 (1) ELIZABETH, d. of Lord Thomas Powllett of Cossington. = (2) MARY, d. of Sir John Tracy (1) ELIZABETH, d. of Edw. Rous. WILLIAM ROGERS of Dowdeswell.
- (2) ANNE, d. of Sir Thomas Clarke of Avington, d. 1630. WILLIAM, d.s.p. PHILIP, d.s.p. GILES, d.s.p.
 Had 20s. rent from Hailes.
- BARBARA = NICHOLAS WOODHALL. ELIZABETH = GEO. STRATFORD (d. 1623) d. 1623. of Farmcote.
- (2) SIR PHILIP HOBY = ELIZABETH, d. of Sir Walter Stonor d. Aug. 25, d. 1558 1560. MAGDALEN = THOMAS BIGG of Norton, d. 1574. ? Glos. aged 55.
- MARGARET = BRIAN CARTER, d.s.p.
- (3) Half-brother, THOMAS (Sir) HOBY, = ELIZABETH, d. of Sir Ant Cooke d. May 30, 1609, having afterwards married John, Lord Russell. RICHARD of Badsey = ELIZABETH, d. of Ant. b. May 13, 1566, d. Feb. 11, 1616. ELIZABETH = (2) d. 1551. Parker. at Paris 1566, d. July 13, 1566, aged 36. BASTARD of Adderbury. THOMAS, d.s.p. ante 1627
- SIR EDWARD = (1) MARGARET d. SIR THOMAS POSTHUMUS HOBY = MARGARET, d. of ELIZABETH ANNE d. inf.
 b. 1560, Kt. of Carey, Ld. of Hackwood, Co. York, A. Dakyns d. inf.
 1582, d. at Hunsdon, d. living 1627.
 Queensborough Nov. 1605.
 1 March, 1616. KATHERINE, d. of Sir John Danvers.
 (?) = KATHERINE PINCKNEY
- PEREGRINE HOBY b. 1602.

(PART) PEDIGREES OF TRACY.

ARMS :—TRACY. Or, two bendlets gules, in chief an escallop sable.



CHAPTER XVII.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR. THE END.

WHILE Captain Dover, Warwickshire Attorney, who founded, or, more accurately, revived, Cotswold Games, friend of sporting squires and poets, was quietly breathing his last in the new house of the Tracys at Stanway, the political difficulties of the kingdom had been drifting fast toward the deadly rapids of civil war. Social cleavage was developing itself in every direction. Yeomanry and townsfolk, as well as gentry and nobles, all social strata, were being cruelly upheaved by the forces of discontent and militant Puritanism; one portion so divided being affiliated to the King, and the other, to the Parliament of the land. Their mutual fury, already evidenced at Edgehill, was only too soon to invade the quiet fields, farm-houses and uplands around Hailes,* and was betokened in signal fires on the crests of the surrounding hills, whose immemorial camps thus once again were to know the tramp of armed men. Blood had been drawn even so near as at Worcester and Pershore at the close of September.

Already on Nov. 26th, 1642, we find Prince Rupert writing, "Sir Robert Tracy (born 1593) sent the King £200 this week, and his third son to serve in Lord Chandos' troop (*i.e.*, Cavalry)."

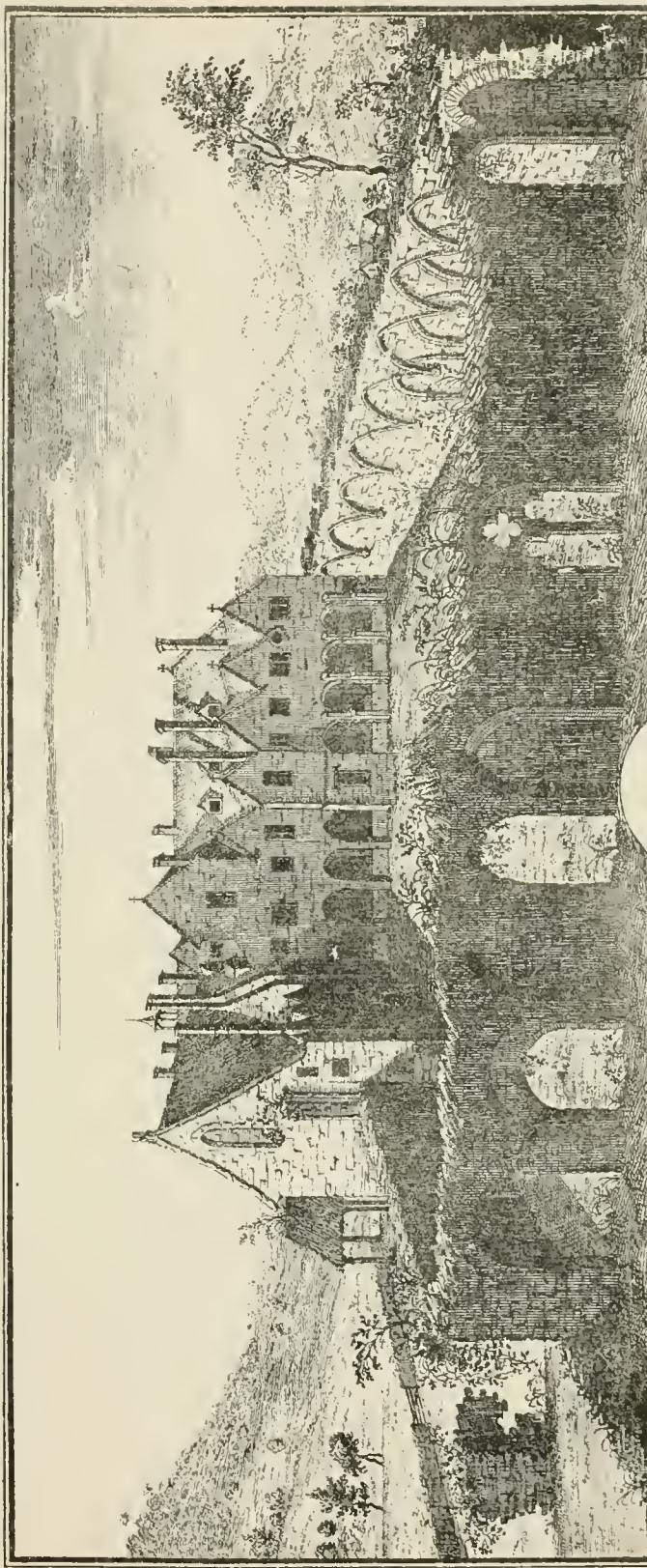
Sir Robert's father, Sir John, became created Baron and Viscount Tracy, of Rathcoole, on January 12th, 1642-3, and was living at Toddington.

George, Lord Chandos, but recently come of age (born August 6th, 1620), having promptly declared himself a Royalist, had armed his tenants, and then leaving Sudeley Castle and its garrison to the care of his less fortunate brother, Captain Bridges, he set about raising a foot-regiment, in addition.

Early in January of 1642-3, Edward Massey, Deputy-Governor of Gloucester, having taken possession of Tewkesbury, which

* At this date the present Puritan altar-table (of oak) was placed in the middle of the Chancel and surrounded by seats for the communicants. This arrangement was changed fifteen years ago. The original altar, re-discovered in 1905, now lies beneath its successor. The Italian altar-cloth came from a chapel in St. Maria in Ara Cœli, at Rome.

THE EAST VIEW OF HALES ABBY, IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.



To the Hon^{ble} Thomas Tracy Vic^{ar} & Baron Tracy
of RATHFRUOLE in the County of Dublin, &c.

Lord of these Chymans.

This Prospect is humbly presented by
W^m. Davis & most Obed^t Serv^{ts} Jam^s. L. & John L. Esq^r.



THIS ABBY was built by Richard Fitzpatrick, 2^d Son of St. John and
Brother to St. Henry, 2^d Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans, pursuant to a Vow
he had made when in extreme Danger at Sea, he placed in it Listerian Monks, and
dedicated it to St. Mary & all Saints. It was consecrated with unusual great pomp
in the Presence of the King, Queen & great number of the Nobility and 300 Knights by
Walter Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester & thirteen other Bishops & Bishops.

J. L. & J. Esq^r. Dec^r 26th 1732

dominated the Avon Valley, deputed a section of his force to garrison Cirencester at the cross-roads, and thus to become a source of perpetual annoyance, especially in the direction of Evesham, 'the fell incensèd point 'twixt mighty opposites.' Here (Jan. 7th) Rupert and Maurice presently threatened to storm the town.

The effect of this affair was fatal to Sudeley, although the latter was regarded as a formidable stronghold. Massey, by means of careful scouts, gained direct information of the actual strength of the garrison, which amounted to but sixty men ; and he promptly concentrated a force upon it, which he directed in person, firing a few shots at it by way of comforting preface. "The cannon did some certain execution. The same night summons was given ; the enemy refused to surrender upon quarter, but craved time till the next day, which in part was granted. Guards were set upon them all night. The next morning our men were drawn out to make an assault, beds and woolpacks were fetched out of the neighbourhood, which they tumbled before (them), and saved themselves from shot ;* the horse and dragoons came up before the foot approached the wall, and possessed themselves of a garden under the Castle, and got hay and straw which they fired, that the smoke driven by the wind, smothered the house, in the shadow of which the ordnance were brought up undiscovered, and planted against the weakest part of the Castle, which, when the enemy perceived, they sounded a parley, and immediately (sur)rendered upon agreement. The conditions were ; that all might have liberty of person, and pass to their own houses, leaving their arms behind, and taking an oath never to serve against the Parliament. They compounded also for the goods in the house, for which they were to pay £500 within six days, or to leave them a free-prize to the soldiers." (Corbet, Military Government of the City of Glos.) Truly, a deplorable surrender.

A writer on the Royal side presents the result :—"On the 28th of January the Castle of Sudeley, upon composition, was delivered up to the Rebels. . . . They plunder not only the Castle, the seat and house of the Lord Chandos, and Winchcombe, a neighbouring village, to the utter undoing the poor inhabitants, but in defence of the Protestant religion, and vindication of the honour of God, they profane *his* house.

* Massey's resourcefulness is found at every turn. He greatly believed in scouts.

"There is in the Castle a goodly fair church. Here they dig up the graves and disturb the ashes of the dead. They brake down the ancients monuments of the Chandoses . . . for each part of the Church they find a peculiar way to profane it. The tower part of it they make their stable, the chancel, their slaughter house. Unto the pulpit . . . they fasten pegs to hang the carcasses of the slaughtered sheep. The communion-table, according to their own language they make their dresser or chopping-board to cut their meat. . . . Going away they left nothing behind them in the Church (besides walls and seats) but a striking memory that part of the Parliament army, raised for the defence of religion, had been there."

Massey carried in provisions and put Colonel Forbes in charge of it so effectually that when two days later Prince Rupert came thither (Jan. 29th) to relieve the place, he found it impracticable to do anything,* and made away with his four thousand men toward Cirencester over the Hills, where he was to prove rather more successful (February 2nd.). He stormed it and took 1100 men prisoners.

The immediate effect of the fall of Cirencester was to cause Massey to draw in to Gloucester his various out-garrisons. "Sudeley Castle was deserted," as also was Berkeley, and likewise Tewkesbury.

In March (30th) Prince Maurice was at Sudeley, while prosecuting his successful expedition against Sir William Waller, and he reached Tewkesbury on April 9th. Rupert was busy with Lichfield and Birmingham. At the close of the month, however, Waller had captured Hereford, while Tewkesbury was recaptured by Massey, who was presently installed as Governor of Gloucester (June 1). The county, for a short period, enjoyed relative repose, but a repose only preparative to more violent activity; for the thought of reducing Gloucester had now presented itself to the King's mind as a matter of supreme importance, and his success in July, at Bristol, naturally served to emphasize it. Success could alone have justified the ponderous operation.

Captain (now Major) Bridges, kept Warwick for the King, whose prime base was, of course, Oxford.

In the following September, owing to the appearance (Sept. 5) upon the scene of the Parliamentary General with his relieving force, at Prestbury, the King, giving up the futile and exasperating

* He camped in the fields near Hailes, at two miles' distance from Winchcombe.

siege of Gloucester, entertained delusive, yet not ill-founded, hopes of encountering Essex (who was on his way to relieve it) upon favourable ground, and therefore he marched (Sept. 5) by way of Painswick, Birdlip, and Coberley (Sept. 6) over the hills to Sudeley (Sept. 7). Rupert slept at Farmcote, above Hailes, at Mr Stratford's house. Essex meanwhile (Sept. 10th) raised the royal hopes to excess by marching to Tewkesbury on Sunday. Charles (then at Evesham) conceived that the enemy could be lured further westward; or, at least would surely return eastward by the way he had come, that is, by Prestbury, near Cheltenham, and over the hills back to Stow-in-the-Wold, so that he could be forced to fight. He and Rupert therefore came to Pershore (Sept. 12th). The line between Gloucester and Warwick, *via* Evesham, was for this end secured by the King. "But the King had not force enough effectually to close up every avenue, he had a long line of country to observe, and the southern extremity of it was not sufficiently secured. Perhaps he might have found opportunity of effecting his purpose by watching the hills, had that been possible, till the movements of his adversary had been ascertained; but he appears to have calculated upon his passing through the vale. Here Essex shewed his skill as a general, and by a masterly manœuvre extricated himself from the difficulty." (*Bibliotheca Gloucest.*, p. LXXIII.)

Essex making an audacious feint by way of a demonstration, both on the Severn at Upton, as well as toward Worcester, the King and his forces were tempted out of camp (perhaps by way of Ashton on Karrent), to snatch so favourable a ground for the desired battle; but by the time the Royal forces approached the spot, Essex had retired again into Tewkesbury. The King marched back to Pershore, being meanwhile (as he thought), kept informed by scouts on Bredon Hill as to the enemy. In the night of Friday, September 14th, however, Essex and his army quietly left Tewkesbury and marched up the Ermin Street toward London, many hours before the enemy received any news of his retirement. No Cotteswold fox ever practised a more clever ruse across country. The General instinctively recognised the virtues of a Roman military road, and left his over-sanguine foes to their own chagrin, which must have been tenfold increased when it became known that at the moment when the King had thrown up the siege of Gloucester, "the Governor there had not above two or three barrels of powder

left," and "an extraordinary scarcity of provisions." The most palpable fact of all this is that the King's army as yet was provided with no scouts worth the name.

Nevertheless, chagrin may of itself become a great force; and once realizing their enemy's move, both Rupert and the King poured their men up the hill-roads by Broadway and Guiting, to Stow, to pursue and, if possible, overtake him. While thus hurrying forwards they learned that Essex had surprised at Cirencester two raw Royalist regiments lying asleep, captured them, as well as the mass of provisions which had been collected against the imagined occupation of Gloucester, and had marched off his prisoners in couples toward London.

The reader does not need to be reminded that a battle followed, on the 19-20th September, among the yellowing hedges of Newbury, where the gallant Falkland was to meet only-too-welcome death, and where Lord Chandos and his contingent did such havoc that the King presently recommended him to Prince Rupert as a fitting substitute for Sir William Vavasour in Gloucestershire.

In the following year, after varying fortunes, the same forces and some of the same leaders were destined to be back and making misery in the same Gloucestershire scenes. The Royalist line was held from Oxford to Worcester.

On May the 24th, Malmesbury had surrendered to Massey, and Charles now withdrawing westward from Oxford, by no means desired battle with anyone, but he was minded to make a serious stand at Worcester. He came from Bourton-on-the-Water, down through Broadway, with its great bent street and grey gables, to Evesham on June 5th, where, on arrival, he learned that the detested and ever-vigilant Massey had re-captured Tewkesbury the previous evening. Again, therefore, the Royalist troops were seen and heard pouring down the hills by Stanway among the pastures of Hailes Manor, and Didbrook.

The affair of Tewkesbury, together with the news that both Essex and Waller were moving towards him, made the King press on through Evesham and Pershore, across the perilous Avon, away to Worcester, breaking the bridge over the river behind him as he passed. But, probably owing to some ill-management, one arch of the bridge collapsed too soon, and Major Bridges, with nearly a hundred armed men, sank in the stream. Eighty hats were found in the latter. On the same day that Charles reached Worcester, Essex and Waller held a council of war together at Stow-in-the-Wold.

FIG. 31.



CARVED BRACKET (XIV. C.)
FOUND IN EXCAVATING N. AISLE OF HAILES.



St. C. B.

XIII. C. BOSS (Chapter-House)

Two days later (June 8th), Waller, who now had descended into the vale somewhere near Hailes, had met Massey. These two then advanced upon Sudeley Castle, it being occupied for the King by Sir William Morton, Sheriff of the County, with 250 soldiers, and after but a few shots, assisted probably by treachery from within the walls, they took possession of it as well as of £4,000 worth of cloth. They despatched the Governor a prisoner to the Tower of London, and Massey's brother undertook charge of the place. Waller then marched on to Evesham, which the King quitted, making once more for Oxford by Broadway.

This second surrender of Sudeley to Massey within eighteen months was notable, but it was made more so, when it became noised abroad that the owner of Sudeley, even Lord Chandos, had forsaken his King at Oxford, and on June 1st, had submitted officially to Lord Grey in London.*

Charles was back again at Evesham on July 4th, hoping to re-capture Tewkesbury.

On July 12th a portion of the King's army again moved with him from Evesham up over the hills in sight of Sudeley (by Rowell) making for Coberley and Salperton (July 13th), watched and annoyed by Massey. The King's objective was now Bath. Next year (1645) Massey stormed Evesham.

It is not a little significant in regard to Massey's successes in the war, that in his War-service Account presented to Parliament in March, 1646-7, he claimed to have paid £4,300 "to spies and scouts."

Far-fallen Winchcombe seems to have been raided as a Parliamentary centre by cavaliers from Campden in 1646 (May), and on April 3rd, three years later the Council of State ordered the neighbouring castle to be "sleighted," *i.e.*, rendered untenable. This operation was carried out by local masons employed by the Parliamentary agents.

Lord Chandos was tried and found guilty of the manslaughter of his friend Col. Henry Compton in a duel, May 17th, 1653, and imprisoned. On the 1st February, 1655, he died of the smallpox in Chandos House, Covent Garden, but by his desire he was buried

* He had in reality acknowledged himself a renegade to Essex on April 1st, as his own petition for 'compounding' states. He took the Covenant oath at the hands of Samuel Gibson, Minister at St. Margaret's, Westminster, October 30th, 1645. His fine was fixed at £4976, and £1000 was later on allowed for the destruction of Sudeley. In August, 1652, he still owed £1000.

at Sudeley.* Meanwhile, the first Viscount Tracy died at the advanced age of 77, in the same year as the unlucky monarch whom he had endeavoured to serve, and Sir Robert Tracy succeeded him, but only lived just long enough to know of the Restoration. He was buried at Toddington, May 11th, 1662. His son, Sir John, who had purchased Hailes Abbey, was living there at the time and was taxed for thirteen hearths, (Cf. Subsidy Rolls, P.R.O. ¹¹⁶/₅₅₄, 1662, Hailes, Glos.), while at Toddington his father was taxed upon thirty, and Thomas Alston, the Parson, upon three hearths.†

The venerable grey Abbey continued to be the home of the third Viscount after succeeding to Toddington, which however he proceeded to rebuild. He completed it in 1683. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Lord Leigh of Stoneleigh, and died at Hailes Abbey (March 4th), 1686-7. His widow died there in 1688 (Sept. 26th). Both were buried at Toddington.

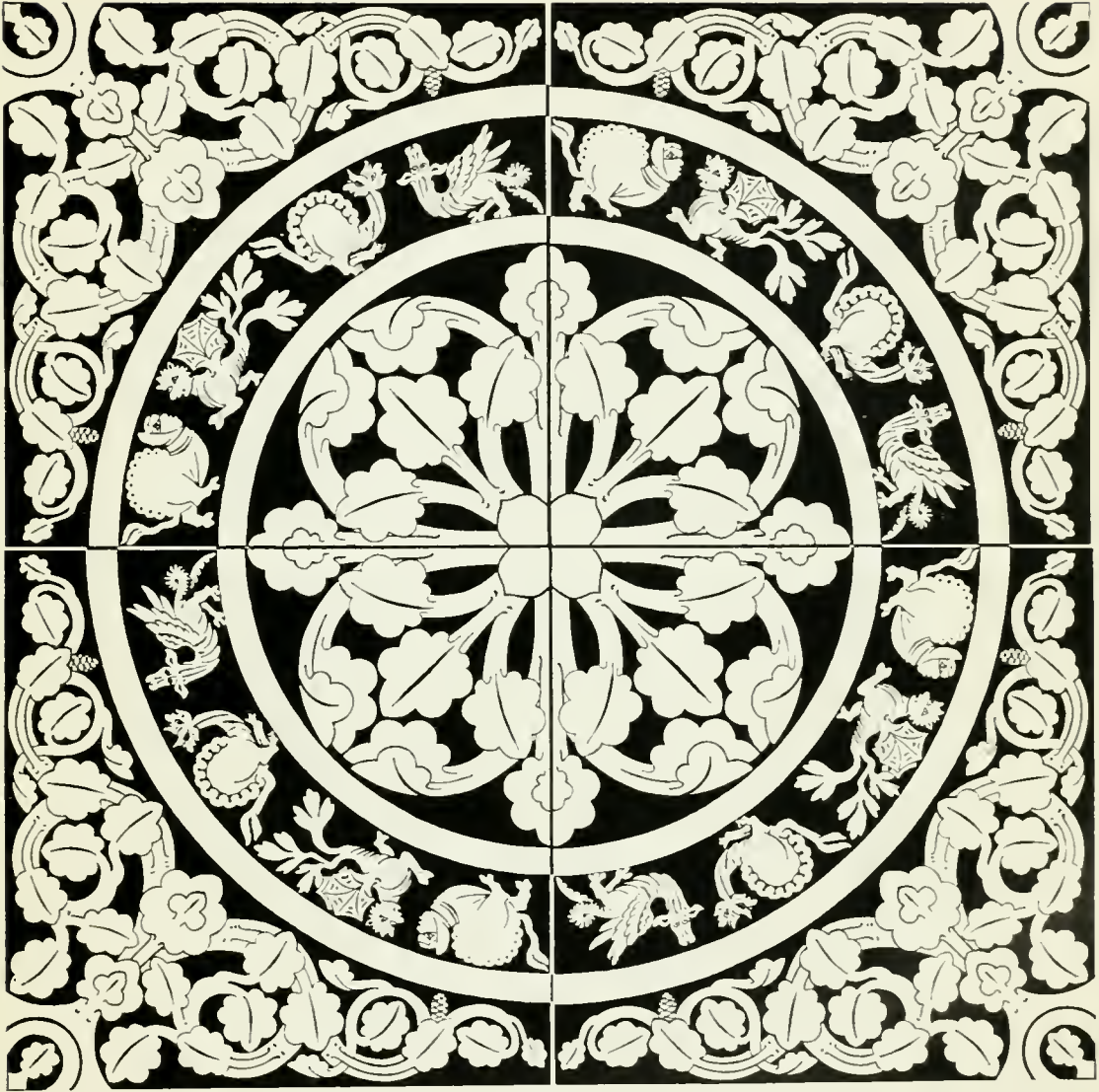
From this date Hailes ceased to be the family residence, and after being let out to local agents and farmers for some years, and its out-offices being demolished for their building materials, it became ruinous from unrepair, the home of the starling and jackdaw, and the barn-owl, until it was reduced to the state in which Rudder and Lysons knew it in the middle of the eighteenth century; its fine ashlar work, armorial bosses, and noble arch-moldings littering the ground that seemed sending up weeds and brambles to devour or protect whatever the destroyer might spare. But even out of briars come roses, and the rough and stony ground has proved itself richly sown with the historic seed from which these simple pages have grown. 'When these splendid fabrics shall have passed away their very shadows will be acceptable to posterity.' (Fuller).

* His brother William, who succeeded him, according to Pepys (Dec. 21st, 1662), was a dull and simple Psalm-singer.

† HEARTH TAX			
AT HAILES		AT WINCHCOMBE	
	Hearths		Hearths
William Sexty	4	Edward Slaughter (gent)	3
James Glover	3	Henry Mutlow	8
Walter Stratton .. .	3	Rich. Freeman	8
William Jefferson ..	1	Wm. Clarke	4
William Barnes	4	James Dodwell	6
John Sexty	3	Margaret Barksdell‡	4
Widow Greene	1	Thomas Harvey	4
Henry Carnall	3	Ralph Pinsur	5
		etc., etc.	

‡ Clement Barksdale was Chaplain of Sudeley, and married Mary Charlton, who died 1653. He wrote a book called 'Nympha Sibethris, or the Cotswold Muse.'

FIG. 32.



E. Marsland.

CHERTSEY TILE FROM THE GALILEE
AT HAILES.

APPENDIX.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS

BUNDLE 62. NO. 441. [DATE 1480 to 1483.]

*To the ryght reverend Fader in God, Thomas
Archebishoppe of York and Chaunceler of Ingland.*

Mekely besecheth yowre good lordshippe William Whit-chirche parson of the parishe chirche of Northecernay in the counte of Glouc' that wheare William late Abbott of the monasterye of Hayles in the seid counte predecessore of John nowe Abbot there bargayned and solde to Robert Handy of Evesham in the counte of Worcestre the maner of Bathesore in the seid counte of Glouc' for the somme of an C. marc whiche the seid Robert to the same late Abbott truly contented and payed. And where an anuell rent of iiij. marc was goyng owte and due of the seid maner to oon John Butvelyn and Alice his wyff duryng here lyff yowre seid besecher at the speciall instaunce and desire of the seid William late Abbott and the seid Abbott weere bounde to the seid Robert Handy to save harmeles the seid Robert Handy ayenst the seid John Buttvelyn and Alice his wyffe for the seid annuite of iiij. marks and the same late Abbote then feythfulli promysed to youre seid besecher to save hym harmeles ayenst the seid Robert Handy and all other in all thyng concernyng the premyses and afterward the seid William Abbott dyed after whoos dethe oon John nowe Abbott theer was electe and prefecte Abbott theer. And youre seid besecher seith in deed that he hath payed of his own goodes to the seid John Butvelyn and Alice of the seid annuite by sondry yeeres in eschewyng his indempnite of the seid obligacion of xl. marc at dyvers tymes as moche money as atteyneth nyghe to the somme of xl. marc and yett ys charged styll with the payment of the same contrarie to all consciens and reason for asmoche as in deed the seid somme of an C. marc came to thuse and behoeff of the seid monasterye and no peny therof to thuse of youre seyde besecher. Please

it therfore youre good lordshippe the premyses tenderly con-
cydred to graunt a writt of Sub pœna to be directed to the
seid John nowe Abbott there commaundyng hym by the same
to appere byfore the kyng here in his Chauncerye at a certeyn
day and vppon a certeyn payn by youre goode lordshippe
to be lynett to answeere to the premyses and to doe herin as
ryght and consciens shall requyre for the love of God and in
the way of cherite and he shall pray to God for the preser-
vation of youre goode lordshippe.

Plegii de { WILLELMUS SPENCER DE LONDON, yoman
prosequendo { RICARDUS JOHNSON DE EADEN, yoman

[Endorsed] Coram Rege in cancelleria sua in octavis Sancte
Trinitatis proximo futuris.

ELIZABETH. SERIES II. BDLE. 81 NO. 14.

Mem. 1. Bill of Wylliam Hobby of Marden, county Southampton,
Esq., complaining, that whereas he is seized of the manor of
Rowell and the farm or bercary of Cottesden in co. Gloucester ;
and one Richard Stratford of Hawling, co. Gloucester, is seized
of one moiety of the manor of Hawling, and has the other
moiety for certain years yet to come, all late belonging to the
monastery of Winchcombe and adjoining one another : Now
the boundaries dividing the same are unknown except to a
few impotent old persons, and plaintiff dwelling sixty miles
from Rowell and Cottesden ; Richard Stratford dwelling in
Hawling is encroaching daily upon plaintiff's lands. Prays
for comission to examine boundaries, and for writ of sub-
pœna against Richard Stratford.

Mem. 2. Writ dated 22nd June 11 Eliz. [1569.]

Mem. 3. Duplicate of bill.

Mem. 4. Answer of Richard Stratford, gent. Says that he, and
one Thomas Throgemorton, Esq., and Margaret his wife, are
tenants in common of the manor of Hawlinge, one moiety to
defendant, the other to said Thomas and Margaret in right
of the latter. Plaintiff now has two actions of trespass at the
common law depending against defendant, tryable at next
assizes, when the justices will settle the question of boundaries.
Prays to be dismissed with costs.

Mem. 5. Certificate of John Slaughter and William Massy, com-
missioners appointed to receive the answer of Richard Stratford.

ELIZABETH. SERIES II. BDLE. 26. NO. 16.

Mem. 1. Writ dated Feb. 10th, Eliz. [1567.]

Mem. 2. Bill of Richard Blaston citizen and mercer of London, complaining, that whereas one Frauncis Boulstowd of Brogborowe parke, Beds., 6th June 7, Edw. VI. [1553] gave bond to William Dawkes, citizen and mercer of London, for £400, payable at Michaelmas then next ensuing; and W. Dawkes being dead, and present plaintiff, his executor, trying to recover the money which is still unpaid, obtained a writ to the sheriff of Gloucester, who found that the said Francis Boulstred was seized of the manor of Snowhill in right of Anne his wife; and the said manor was delivered to plaintiff who remains lawfully seized thereof until the debt be paid; NOW one Thomas Warne of Snowhill, yeoman, having in his custody the deeds concerning said manor, refuses to give them up, and plaintiff cannot recover rents, etc. Prays writ of subpœna.

Mem. 3. Answer of Thomas Warne. Has in his possession only two rent-rolls delivered to him by the late abbot of Winchcombe before either Fraunceys Bowlstrode or present plaintiff had any interest in the manor, in order that defendant might collect his own rents.

Mem. 4. Replication of Richard Blaston. Prays that defendant may be required to bring the said two rent-rolls into court.

ELIZABETH. SERIES II. BDLE. 5. NO. 40.

Mem. 3. [1566.] Bill of Richard Ayleworthe, complaining that whereas the abbot of Wynchecomb leased "the Amberye of Wynchecombe" to plaintiff, and one Thomas Hunte claimed to have a lease from the said abbot of "the Sexterye" of the Abbey; both leases yet unexpired; and afterwards, viz., 4th Jan. 31, Hen. VIII. [1549] Sir John Abryges obtained from the King a lease of the abbey, with the appurtenances, and entered into the "sexterye:" Hunte complained to Sir Geo. Throgmorton, and by his mediation, Hunte surrendered his lease, and received a fresh one from Sir John of a moiety of the "sexterye" for 20 years; after the death of Sir John, Edmund Lord Shadows gave [the sextry ?]* for so many years as plaintiff had in the "amberye," last year,

[* To plaintiff.]

viz., 2 Eliz. [15⁵⁰₈₀], Hunte's lease having expired. Thomas Hunte, son of Thomas Hunt aforesaid, now brags that he will have the whole again, as his father had before the surrender.

Mem. 1. The answer of Thomas Hunt. Denies truth of bill. Says that original lease of sextry was to Thomas Hunt the elder, and Emma his wife, Thomas Hunt, the younger (present defendant), and his brother John, for sixty years from 20th March, 29 Hen. VIII [153⁷₈.]

Mem. 2. Appointment of commissioners.

Mem. 4. Replication of Richard Aylworth. Maintains truth of bill.

LOCAL NAMES (OF PLACES)

D.S. = Domesday Survey

A.S. = Anglo-Saxon

C. = Celtic

P.N. = Personal Name

W. = Welsh

	VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION		VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION
HAILES ..	D.S. HEILES	WORMINGTON	D.S. Wermeton
HALES (Le			Wirmetone, 1219
HALE, 1266)	A.S. HEALH	TODDINGTON ..	D.S. Todintun
HAYLES ..	Pasture-meads	TEDDINGTON ..	Teotintune. P.N. ton of Teotta
CHELTHENHAM	D.S. Ciltenham	COSCOMBE ..	Goscombe A.S. Gos : Goose (?) Cf. Goswell Gosford : Goshawk
WINCHCOMBE	Wincel-cwm. A.S. a corner (C.) Combe	HORNHILL	
POSTLIP ..	D.S. Poteslepe. P.N.	STANWAY ..	D.S. Stanwege = Stoneway
CHARLTON	D.S. Cerletone	LIDCOMBE ..	A.S. HLID : a slope
ABBOTTS	Ceorletun : Churls' ton	BROADWAY	Broad-way : Brad-way
CLEEVE ..	A.S. (n) Clif = crag	PIPER'S GROVE	P.N.
CLOUD ..	A.S. Clud. M.E. a hill	STAUNTON ..	Stan : Stone
BREDON ..	C. Bre, a hill : A.S. Dun, down	SHENBARROW	Cf. Sheen : shining A.S. Scene
NAUNTON ..	1275. Subsidy Roll has NEWINTON	DIDBROOK ..	Cf. W. Dyddyfru = to water : irrigate
DIXTON ..	Dicklesdon. P.N.	Sudeley ..	South-ley, or lea Suth-leid. XII cent.
LANGLEY ..	Long lea	SPOONLEY (Cf.	
OXENTON ..	D.S. Oxendone. Cf. Oxenford. A.S. Dun = hill	Sponbed :	
PRESTBURY ..	Presteberie	Sponstrete.)	A.S. Spon = a chip (?)
SOUTHAM ..	A.S. SUD-HAM. Cf. Sudeley = South-ley	STANCOMBE ..	Stone-combe
WOOLSTONE ..	Cf. P.N. WOLLASTON WULFLAFS town	ROEL : Ro-	D.S. Rawelle. Cf. W. Rhawell cluster
FIDDINGTON ..	D.S. Fitentone	well	
GOTHERINGTON	D.S. Godrintone	CUTSDENE ..	P.N. Coda's dene : val- ley
NATTON ..	D.S. Natone	FARMCOTE ..	Fern-cote (XIII cent.)
ALSTON ..	D.S. Aluredstone P.N. = Alfred'ston	PINNOCK ..	D.S. PIGNOCISIRE
GRETTON ..	(?) Greta (C) a stream- name	GUETING ..	Getinge. A.S. Gyte : gush
GREET ..	Idem	FORD ..	(A.S.) A way through brook or river
ALDERTON ..	D.S. Aldritone A.S. Ælder		

VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION		VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION	
WADFIELD ..	Wood-field : but may be Woad-field	HUMBLE-BEE- WOOD ..	Hamley-How. A.S. Hoh : Hough
Belas Knap ..	(?) P.N. or (C.) Bela Knap : A.S. Cnæp (D) Knap	ISBURNE ..	Hough (A.S.) a spur (?) A.S. Esing-burn, or (C.) Is : Esk : usk
BECKBURY ..	A.S. Bece, a brook : but here more likely Beech : and A.S. Beorg, mound	SWELL ..	D.S. Swelle (Sowell)
PISELEY, or PEASELEY ..	A.S. Pise, Pea	SLAUGHTER ..	D.S. Sclostre
DUMBELTON ..	D.S. Dunbentune, or (C.) Dun, Dum, a fort or A.S. Dun, Hill, (Chron. Abingdon, p. 62.) Dumelton, A.D. 924-41	BOURTON ..	D.S. Bortune
CASTLETT ..	D.S. Cateslat	MAUGERSBURY	D.S. Malgeresberie P.N.
BATTESMORE	P.N.	EYFORD ..	D.S. Aiforde A.S. Ig : Old Mercian Eg.
Catesthorp ..	P.N. and (?) Scand : borrowed by Saxon Thorp, village	HORESTONE ..	M.E. Hore A.S. Har : boundary
		KINETON ..	Kynton, ? Cyne-tun
		HARFORD ..	HAR : HOAR : an ancient boundary
		BAUNTON ..	D.S. Baudintune
		CHESSELS ..	P.N.
		ICCOMB ..	D.S. Iccumbe
		NOTGROVE ..	D.S. Nategrave
		ASTON ..	D.S. Estone. East-ton
		CONDICOTE ..	D.S. idem

FIELD NAMES

P.S. = Personal Name
 A.S. = Anglo-Saxon
 C. = Celtic
 M.E. = Middle English
 W. = Welsh

	VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION		VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION
THE CHURCH GROUND		UPPER and LOWER MAD	
TOBACCO- PIECE	1630. Grown here (See Chap XV.)	CROFT ..	(?) Made
HAWBROOK	M.E. Haw, enclosed place	PISELEY	
AGGS BREACH	P.N., A.S. Bryce, broken-up ground	GROVE	A.S. Pise = Pea
THE EWE LEASOWE	Læsu, meadow land. Doubtful origin, but common	REEVE'S GARD	P.N. Gard, inclosure yard. Cf. Gate, yate
CHURLEY	? Ceorle : A.S. Furlang	ABBAY GREEN	
FURLONG	= Length of a Fur- row	HULLS	
THE DINGE	(Dan) Dinge, a heap : A.S. Dung	GROUND	P.N.
ROWLEY	13th cent. Roueleie	MONKS	
MEADOW	M.E. Row : A.S. Ruh = Rough. Cf. Roel	MEADOW	Abbey-land
BARBOURS	P.N. or Herdeberewe, = Shepherd's Barrow	OLD MEADOW	
HARBOUR		LOWER	
WHITE HILL		LANGET	Fr. Languette
IRELEY		LANE GROUND	
SHEPHERD'S		GREAT CAMP	
FURLONG		OAK TREE	
FULBROOK ..	(?) Fuller's brook	PIKE	
PARSON'S		STARVE-ACRE	Not uncommon in Gloucestershire. Cf. Starvall
PIECE			
HORSE	A.S. Bryce, broken ground	NORTH CAMP	
BREACH		THE SIDELONG	
THE PARK		BEECH BANK	
MONK'S		HAILES WOOD	Plur. of HEALH : A.S. = pasture lands
HOLLOW			A.S. Hege. M.E. Hay, an inclosed place, or somehow defined
SILLY BEDS	Sallows	WEST HAYS	Gos : Goose
BENNETS		COSCOMBE	
CROFT ..	P.N.	GROVE	
		LITTLE	
		WARREN	
		LARGE	
		WARREN	
		THRIFT WOOD	(?) Corruption of Frith M.E. a wood

	VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION		VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION
MILHAM ..	Middle-homme XIII. C.	DAUNCERS- MEDE ..	P.N.
ALWYNSHOMME	P.N.	THE LANGATE	French: LANGUETTE: a tongue
SPEREWE- HOMME ..	P.N.	GREET-LAND	Greta (C.) river-name
I.A. HOMME	Ham: Homme = Riverside land	NETHER FIELD	
KNIGHTSMEDE	P.N.	CULLS	P.N. or else, Pigeon- meadow: as in The Culls: for Culvers
CORNPiece		MEADOW	
GROVE-LEYS		FIDDLE	
MOORS ..	P.N.	MEADOW	
LONG LANGET	Fr: Languette: a tongue	THE BUTTS	Abutments
PARK FIELD		WALL FURLONG	
NEEDLES HOLE	P.N.	The MERWAY	A.S. Mare: M.E. mere, a boundary
TUMP ..	(W.) Twmp = hillock		
PINNOCKSHIRE	M.E. Schire = a divi- sion		
PUCK-PIT- LANE	A.S. Puca, an elf M.E. Pouke		
WODROVES- HOMME ..	P.N.		
JOHNSHOMME	P.N.		
SMITHSHOMME	P.N.		
GOSEHOMME	P.N. but may be Goose, as in Gosditch		
AYLWARDES- HOMME ..	P.N.		
WALKING- CROFT	M.E. Walker, a presser of cloth		
GODALECROFT	A.S. Wealcan, to roll Godale: Goodall: P.N.		
HILL-CROFT			
SCHEPEN- BRUGGE	Sheeps-bridge. A.S. Sceap, pl. EN Brycg, bridge		
HAYLE-BROKE			
RONDBROKE			
FINCHESWELLE	P.N.		
ROLVESHILL	P.N. Rolf		
BLACK PUTTE			
FURLONG	Black pit		
PIRDENESICHE	? A.S. Pirige: a pear- tree: M.E. Den, vale M.E. Syche, = a boundary		
BLUNDELS- MEDE ..	P.N.		

DAUNCERS- MEDE ..	P.N.
THE LANGATE	French: LANGUETTE: a tongue
GREET-LAND	Greta (C.) river-name
NETHER FIELD	
CULLS	P.N. or else, Pigeon- meadow: as in The Culls: for Culvers
MEADOW	
FIDDLE	
MEADOW	
THE BUTTS	Abutments
WALL FURLONG	
The MERWAY	A.S. Mare: M.E. mere, a boundary

DIDBROOK

LOWER	
SILLY-BEDS	Sallow-beds
CONSALL PIECE	
FORTY'S	
ORCHARD	P.N.
BITTAM PIECE	
STONY ACRE	
BUSHEY	
LEASOWE	A.S. Læsu meadow
BECKBURY	A.S. BEORG: a mound and A.S. BECE: a beech.
BANK	

PINNOCKSHIRE

MORTAR-PIECE	Fancy-name
WATERLOO ..	do.
STAINES	
MEADOW	P.N.
THE GREEN	
COLLETS ..	P.N.

LITTLE FARMCOTE

PARK CLOSE	
HUNTLEY	
PIECE ..	P.N.
PEASELEY	
CLOSE ..	A.S. Pise, a Pea
GREAT ASH	
GROUND	
OX LEASOWE	
LOWER	
BRAWING	

GREAT FARMCOTE		VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION	
CHAPEL CLOSE		MIDDLE SLADE	Slade, a slope. Cf. Slide
LANGET	Cf. : Fr. Languette : a tongue	HASLE	
GREAT HYDE	A.S. Hide	GROUND	
MEADOW		SHEEP-MARK	
WALK-OVER		TODDINGTON	
PEAKED PIECE		RAY MEADOW	
PAINSCLOSE	P.N.	THE SAND	
BONNER WOOD	(?) P.N.	GROUND	
CORBETTS	P.N. and LEY : LAY,	FEEDING	
LAYS	mead	GROUND	
THE LARGE	A.S. HLID, a slope	THISTLEY	
LYDE	Cf. LID-GATE	FIELD	
MUDS LYDE	P.N. and A.S. Hlid, a slope	COW LEASOWE	Læsu : meadow-land
KENDRICKS	P.N.	THE OAK	
RUSSEL'S		PIECE	
LYDE	P.N. Hlid, a slope	LOT MEADOW	
		SPINNAGE	
		GREET GROVE	
		OSIERS	
		BUTTERMILK	
		HOME FARM	
		THROUGHTERS	(?)
		BURBERRY	
		HILL	
		THE	
		VANDELLES	(?) Farndels, or Farundells, or quarter yard-lands
		HOLLOWAY	
		WINCHCOMBE	
		DUNNS HILL	P.N.
		HAMLEY HOW	Ham-ley-Hough
		ISABETH	
		MEADOW	
		BLUNDER-	
		MARSH	
		HAILES STREET	
		OF GREET	
		STREET	
		HANLEY	
		STREET	
		MILL STREET	Abbey Mill
		WYNYARD	
		STREET	Vineyard (?)
		BETAR STREET	(?) Beata [Maria]

	VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION		VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION
CULLS LANE, or COLE STREET	P.N., or the Abbey Pigeons' House	LANGET STYLE	
NORTH STREET		SHENBARROW CAMP	A.S. Scene=shine. Cf. Shenstone.
PETTICRUE LANE		QUINNELL	? Cync-hyll (Cf. Skeat) (There is a Chapelry in Ripple, near Tew- kesbury, of the same name.)
HEVE STREET			
BODEFORD STREET		SUGAR QUARR	
CAPONS LANE		STUMPS CROSS	P.N.
PILLOPS LANE		DUNS LANE	P.N.
		BRAKE-	
SNOWSHILL : SNAWSHILL		FURLONG	
(pronounced 'Snozel')		LORDS FIELD	Lord of Manor
ROWDEN	A.S. Ruh : rough.	CLAY-FURLONG	
CATHILL ..	Common : perhaps here, 'Cat,' the an- imal	STEEPLE FURLONG	
THROSTLE-		DUCKS-	
BRIDGE		MEADOW	
THE HITCHING		BRYER-	
COTTERILLS ..	P.N.	FURLONG	
GREAT WHITE OXLEY		UPPER SAND FURLONG	
HOW-MEADOW	Hough	DORMER MEAD	
LANGET-GATE		LOWER KNAPP	A.S. Cnæp, M.E. Knap a hillock
THE GROVE		UPPER GORE	
THE SEVERALS	? Allotments	KNAPP ..	Ditto
HORNS		THE GORE	A.S. Gara, M.E. Gore a triangular piece of, land.
LEASOW ..	P.N. Læsu : meadow- land		
STOCKING-		AYLES MEAD	
CLOSE	A 'cleared' enclosure	FURLONG	P.N.
SEVEN WELLS GATE		WOOSELES FURLONG	P.N. (?)
RAM CLOSE		MARE ..	Meere: mear: a bound- ary: a balk: a furrow
BREACH ..	M.E. bruche, broken- up ground	LEASOWS	
		BRADLEY'S OF GORE'S LANE	P.N.
STAUNTON : STANTON		HANGING	
VICARAGE HILL		FURLONG	(?)
THE NOCLE ..	? Noke, for oak (dim)	THROUGHTER FURLONG	(?)
THE SHEPHEYS	Sheep-Hays. Hay, M.E. inclosure	INCH-FURLONG	
WOOLBERROW LEYS	M.E. Ley, unenclosed pasture land	THE MEADOW FURLONG	

	VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION		VARIANTS, OR DERIVATION
RIPPLE		CHURCH LANE	
FURLONG		THE LYDE	Unknown origin (?)
HONEY-BAND			A.S. HLID, a slope.
FURLONG		FISH-FURLONG	
WHITE FIELD		DYER-FURLONG	
FURLONG		BERRY	
GREEN		WORMINGTON	
BOROUGH		STANWAY	
FURLONG	P.N.	HEDGE	

TABLE OF THE ABBOTS OF WINCHCOMBE, GLOUCESTER AND TEWKESBURY
AND OF THE EARLIER BISHOPS OF WORCESTER

ABBOTS WINCHCOMBE		BISHOPS WORCESTER		ABBOTS GLOUCESTER		ABBOTS TEWKESBURY	
St. Mary and St. Keneelm	St. Peter	Wulstan	..	1063-95	St. Peter	Wulstan	..
GODRIC .. 1054-72	WULSTAN ..	1063-95	St. Peter	..	1058	GERALD ..	1110-1123
GALAND'S .. 1075	SAMPSON ..	1096-1112	SERLO ..	..	1072	ROBERT ..	.. 1124
RALPH I. .. 1077	THEOBALD ..	1113-1123	PETER ..	..	1104	BENEDICT ..	.. 1137
GIRMINO .. 1095	SIMON ..	1125-50	WILLIAM GODEMON ..	1113	1130	ROGER ..	.. 1182
GODFREY .. 1122	JOHN DE PAGHAM	1151-8	WALTER DE LACY ..	1139	1179	FROMUND ..	.. 1202
ROBERT I. .. 1138	ALVRED ..	1158-61	GILBERT FOLLIOU ..	1148	1205	ROBERT ..	.. 1214-15
WILLIAM .. 1152	ROGER DE GLOSTER	1163	HAMELIN ..	1179	1223	ALAN ..	.. 1216
GERVASE .. 1157	BALDWIN ..	1180-4	THOMAS CARBONEL ..	1228	1284	WALTER ..	.. 1255
HENRY .. 1171	WILLIAM DE NORHALE	1186-90	HENRY BLUNT ..	1284	1306	HUGH ..	.. 1328
CRISPIN .. 1181	ROBERT ..	1191-93	THOMAS OF BREDON ..	1328	1337	BERNARD ..	.. 1347
ROBERT II. .. 1182	HENRY OE SOILI ..	1195	HENRY FOLIOU ..	1351	1377	PETER ..	.. 1420-1
RALPH III. .. 1184	JOHN DE CONSTANTINUS	1195-98	JOHN DE FELDA ..	1381	1412	ROBERT III. ..	.. 1444
ROBERT .. 1194	MALGER ..	1200	REGINALD DE HOMME ..	1420	1437	THOMAS OF STOKES ..	.. 1453-68
THOMAS .. 1221	WALTER DE GRAY	1213-15	JOHN DE GAMAGES ..	1450	1457	THOMAS OF CHESTERTON	.. 1468
HENRY DE TOOINGTON	SILVESTER ..	1216-17	JOHN THOKY ..	1457	1472	THOMAS PARKER ..	.. 1480
JOHN YANWORTH .. 1247	WILLIAM DE BLEYS	1217-36	JOHN WIGMORE ..	1472	1498	WILLIAM OF BRISTOL	.. 1509-1529
WALTER OF WICKWANE	WALTER OE CANTELUPE	1237-65	ADAM DE STAUNTON ..	1498	1500	JOHN WALKER ..	.. ob. 1531
THOMAS OF SHERBORNE	NICHOLAS ..	1266-7	THOMAS HORTON ..	1500	1510	JOHN WAKEMAN	.. 1531-
RICHARD OF IDBVRY .. 1315	GODFREY GIFFARD	1268-1301	JOHN BOYFIELD ..	1510	1514	[Made Bishop of Gloucester,	.. 1541.]
WILLIAM OF SHERBORNE	WILLIAM DE GAYNESHORE	1302-7	WALTER FROCESTER ..	1514	1525	JOHN STRENSHAM ..	.. 1541
RICHARD OF IPWELL .. 1352	WALTER REYNOLDS	1308-13	HUGH OF MORTON ..	1525	1541	RICHARD CHELTENHAM	.. 1541
WALTER OF WINFORTON	WALTER DE MAIDSTONE	1313-17	JOHN MORWENT ..	1541	1541	HENRY BEELEY	.. 1541
WILLIAM BRADLEY .. 1395	THOMAS COBHAM	1317-27	REGINALD BOVLERS ..	1541	1541	JOHN WALKER ..	.. ob. 1531
JOHN CHELTENHAM .. 1423	ADAM ORLETON	1327-33	THOMAS SEABROKE ..	1541	1541	JOHN WAKEMAN	.. 1531-
WILLIAM WINCHCOMBE	SIMON MONTACUTE	1334-37	RICHARD HANLEY ..	1541	1541	[Made Bishop of Gloucester,	.. 1541.]
THOMAS TWINING .. 1474	THOMAS NEMENHALE	1337-8	WILLIAM FARLEY ..	1541	1541	JOHN WALKER ..	.. ob. 1531
JOHN TWINING .. 1477	WULSTAN NEMENHALE	1339-49	JOHN MALVERN ..	1541	1541	JOHN WAKEMAN	.. 1531-
RICHARD KIDDERMINSTER	JOHN THORESBY ..	1349-52	THOMAS BRAUNCHE ..	1541	1541	[Made Bishop of Gloucester,	.. 1541.]
RICHARD MOVNSLOW .. 1525	REGINALD BRIAN ..	1352	JOHN NEWTON ..	1541	1541	JOHN WAKEMAN	.. 1531-

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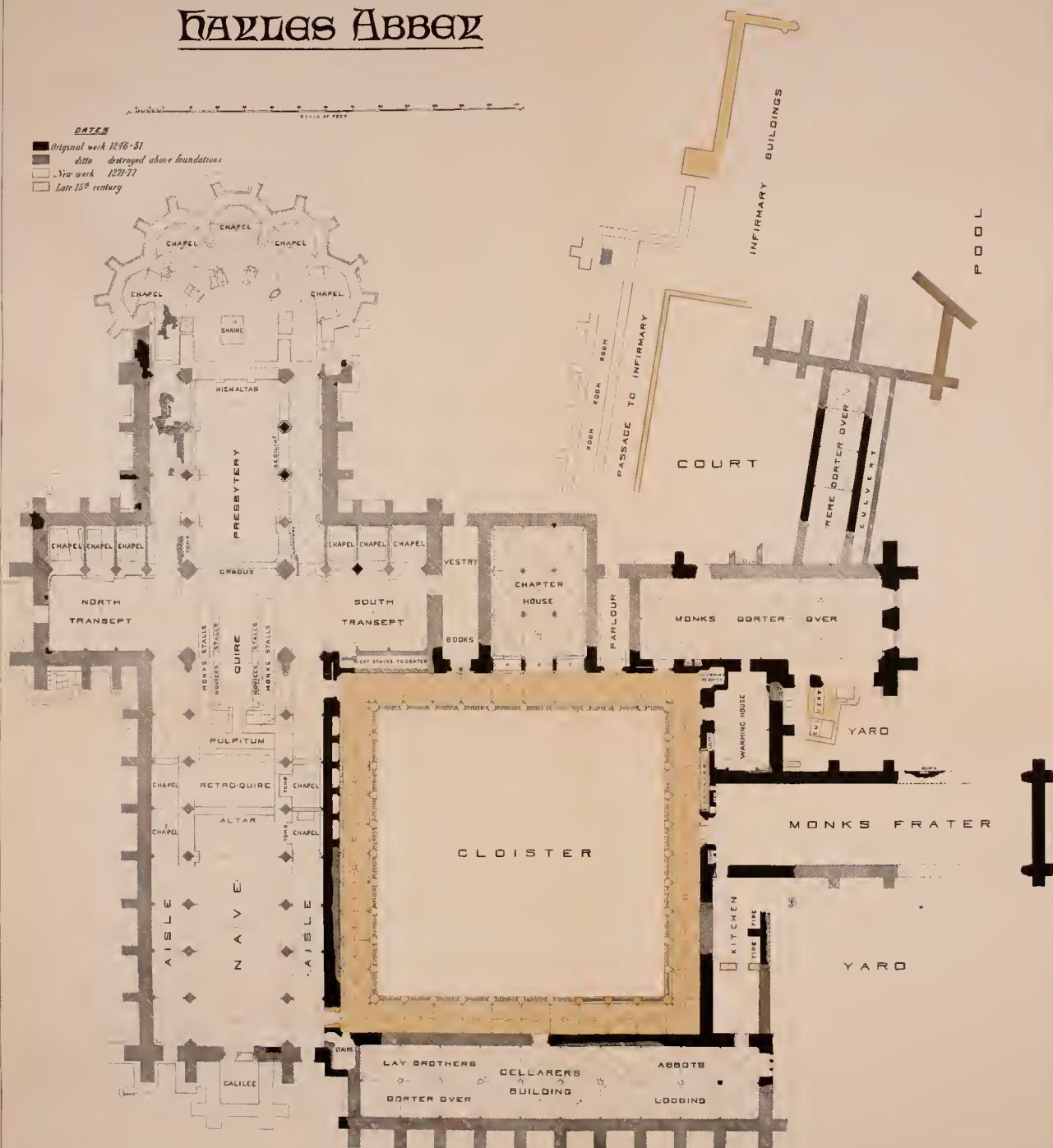
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